Al-Ghazali

Music and Singing

Translated by
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ART. VIII.—*Emotional Religion in Islām as affected by Music and Singing.* Being a Translation of a Book of the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices. By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON MUSIC IN RELATION TO EMOTION.

"WHOSOEVER is harmonically composed delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all Church-Musick. For my own part, not only from my obedience but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and a profound contemplation of the First Composer." This is the confession of Sir Thomas Browne, and in that confession races the farthest apart join. The influence of music on the soul, the emotions it stirs, the fears and hopes it excites, all peoples, all climates, all ages have known. The negro at his camp-meeting, the darwīsh at his *dhikr*, are here kin with the English scholar

and physician. For him it may not have been such a cataleptic ecstasy as befalls the negro or the darwīsh, but the cause was one and the essential nature. All religions have drawn strength and exaltation from this which lies at the root of all religion; it has ever kindled and fed the flame of devotion. The one could picture it to himself as "a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God"; the other can but ignorantly feel it working on his heart and soul, and sweeping him far from all the bonds of mind and thought. The unknown opens before him and clothes itself with his fancy. Whatever be the music that he hears, coming with music's vague yearning and sense of wrong and loss, it brings to him his own wild thoughts. To him, as to Sir Thomas Browne, music is one; all leads to God, the God of the swaying, restless heart, not of the steadfast mind. He knows how it speaks in universal terms; how its beauty is the beauty of the sunset, not of a painting; how to it belong no clear outlines, but the mind which we bring limits and gives it form. The tides of its seas that set towards eternity meet no bar, break upon no shore. In it is limitless possibility, feeling apart from thought, a golden clime with the ever changing, melting towers of a dream city. One emotion floats over into another, its kin. The strands of life twist and twine, each with each. Melodies of sensuous love come to express the worship of the Divine; musical phrases that speak the fear of man come to speak the awe of the Unknown. And when to the breadth of music is joined the wide solution of the meaning of Arabic words, the bounds of possibility are opened, and dreamy suggestion comes in place of thought. Then a love-poem may turn to a song of pure concent when heard with fitly tempered ears.

Sir Thomas Browne has touched this quivering nerve with the finger of genius. The negro camp-meeting has often been described from without, and some have even tried to analyze it from within. The fantastic orgies of darwīshes, dancing, howling, barking, and the rest—has not every Eastern traveller essayed upon them his pen, if not his ridicule? It still remains to see them from within as they appeared to the sympathetic eyes of a great theologian who had himself part in them, and who applied the methods of science to the analysis of emotional effects. To transmit and interpret his results to Western readers is my object here. I trust that I have not met either the dream of the mystic or the intellectual subtilties of the scholastic with any lack of sympathy. There is much here that will require from the reader a healthy historical sense, much that will seem of kin to the wildest dreams of delirium; yet it should not be forgotten that our generation has seen a formal defence of the schoolmen, and that Lord Tennyson in his "Ancient Sage" has described and professed a perception through ecstasy that differs in nothing from the *wajd* of the Muslim saint.

Finally, I would ask the indulgence of the Arabist if I have not in all cases succeeded in grasping or adequately rendering the intricacies of my theologian's thought and style, and the indulgence of the non-Arabist if I have left in darkness any point necessary to his understanding. The notes could often have been made much longer and more minute in detail. But while I trust that sufficient has been done for the explanation of the text, I have endeavoured to keep the commentary within bounds, adding, however, such references as might form at least a beginning for further research. For an account of al-Ghazzālī himself I would refer to my paper on his life and religious experiences and opinions in vol. xx of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. It forms an almost necessary introduction to the present translation.

The Book of the Laws of Listening to Music and Singing and of Ecstasy. It is the Eighth in the Section of Customs in The Book of the Re-vivifying of the Sciences of the Faith.[1]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, Compassionate One.[2]

Praise belongeth unto God,[3] who hath consumed the hearts of His chosen in the fire of His love, and hath enslaved their thoughts and their souls in longing unto meeting Him and looking upon Him, and hath fixed their sight and their insight upon consideration of the beauty of His presence until they have become drunken with inbreathing of the breeze that tells of union, and their hearts are distraught and confounded with considering the praises of Majesty, and they see not His equal in existence, visible and invisible, and are not mindful of aught except Him in The Two Abodes.[4] If a form presents itself to their sight, their insight passes to Him that formed it; and if a melody strikes upon their ears, their secret thoughts pass hastily to the Beloved; and if there come to them a voice disturbing or disquieting or moving or making to sorrow or making joyous or making to long or stirring up, that they are disturbed is only unto Him, and that they are moved is only by Him, and that they are disquieted is only on account of Him; their sorrow is only in Him, and their longing is

[1] I translate from the edition of Cairo, 1302. I have also employed the commentary of the Sayyid Murtaḍà (referred to hereafter as SM.), *Itḥāf as-Sāda*, 10 vols., Cairo, 1311. The *Book* translated comes in vol. vi, pp. 454–end.

[2] Strictly 'the merciful Raḥmān,' but though the word was a proper name for God, standing beside Allāh, even before Muḥammad, yet the use in Islām is rather as I have rendered it. It is not a proper name, but an epithet noun.

[3] Lane, *sub voce*, p. 638*c*, translates *praise be to God*, but by *be* he seems to mean only an emphatic, ejaculatory assertion, not a prayer, *du'ā*. See his letter to Fleischer in ZDMG., xx, p. 187, where he explains in that way his rendering *tabāraka-llāh*, 'Blessed is,' or 'be, God.' That it is to be taken as an assertion is plain from al-Bayḍāwī, i, p. 6, ll. 3 ff. The precise force of both the *Basmala* and the *Ḥamdala* has been much discussed by Muslim divines. See, for example, the elaborate examination in al-Bājūrī's *Sharḥ* on the *Kifāya al-'awāmm* (Cairo, A.H. 1303).

[4] The Two Abodes are this world and that which is to come, *ad-dunyà wal-ākhira*.

only unto that which is with Him, and their being aroused is only for Him, and their coming and going is only around Him. From Him is their hearing and unto Him is their listening, and He hath locked their eyes and ears from aught besides Himself. They are those whom God hath chosen to be his Saints and has separated from His chosen ones and His peculiar ones. And blessing be upon Muḥammad, who was sent with His message, and upon his Family and Companions, leaders and guides in the truth, and much Peace![1]

Lo! hearts and inmost thoughts are treasuries of secrets and mines of jewels. Infolded in them are their jewels like as fire is infolded in iron and stone, and concealed like as water is concealed under dust and loam. There is no way to the extracting of their hidden things save by the flint and steel of listening to music and singing, and there is no entrance to the heart save by the ante-chamber of the ears. So musical tones, measured and pleasing, bring forth what is in it and make evident its beauties and defects. For when the heart is moved there is made evident that only which it contains like as a vessel drips only what is in it. And listening to music and singing is for the heart a true touchstone and a speaking standard; whenever the soul of the music and singing reaches the heart, then there stirs in the heart that which in it preponderates. Since, then, the heart is by nature obedient to the ears, to the degree that its secret things plainly show themselves through them and its defects are uncovered by them and its beauties made evident, an explanation is needed of what has been said with regard to listening to music and singing and with regard to ecstasy, and also a statement of what advantages are in these things and what disadvantages and of what is recommended in them of laws and modes, and of what pertains

[1] On the Muslim theory and practice of benediction on the Prophet and others, see Goldziher in ZDMG., L, pp. 97 ff. My translations here make no attempt to be final on a very difficult question. After a time I do not translate these benedictory formulae at all. The *Sharḥ* of al-Bājūrī cited above suggests that this also is an assertion to be translated, 'Benediction is upon . . .'; i.e., it is *ikhbārī* and not *inshā'ī*.

to them of disagreement on the part of the learned as to their being either forbidden or allowed. We will expound that in two chapters: the first as to the allowableness of listening to music and singing, and the second as to its laws and the effects which music and singing produce upon the heart, consisting of ecstasy, and upon the members of the body, consisting of dancing and crying out and tearing of garments.

I.

The First Chapter, treating of the disagreement of the learned as to the allowableness of Listening to Music and Singing, and revealing the truth as to that allowableness.

1.

A statement of the sayings of the learned and of the Ṣūfīs as to its being lawful or forbidden.

Know that the listening comes first, and that it bears as fruit a state in the heart that is called ecstasy; and ecstasy bears as fruit a moving of the extremities of the body, either with a motion that is not measured and is called agitation or with a measured motion which is called clapping of the hands and swaying of the members. Let us, then, begin with the rule as to listening—it comes first—and we will adduce with regard to it those sayings which express clearly the views which have been held on it. Thereafter, we will mention what points to its permissibility, and follow that up with an answer to what has been laid hold of by those who assert that it is forbidden.

As for the adducing of views, the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī[1] has related from ash-Shāfiʿī[2] and Mālik and

[1] Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib; d. 450. See Wüstenfeld's *Schâfi'iten*, No. 393, pp. 263 ff.
[2] Ash-Shāfiʿī; d. 204. For his life see Wüstenfeld, pp. 29 ff., and for a remark on his attitude to music, p. 41. The SM. notes that the book here mentioned, *Kitāb ādāb al-qaḍā*, is part of the *Kitāb al-amm*, No. 9 on p. 45 of Wüst. On rejecting of testimony, see note below.

Abū Ḥanīfa and Sufyān and a number of the learned, expressions which indicate that they viewed it as forbidden. He said, "Ash-Shāfiʿī (may God have mercy on him!) said in *The Book of the Laws of giving Judgment*, 'Singing is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is false; he who meddles much with it is light of understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" Further, the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib said, "That a man should listen to a woman who is not within the prohibited degrees of kinship is unlawful according to the followers of Ash-Shāfiʿī, equally whether she is in plain view or behind a curtain, is free or a slave." Further, he said, "Ash-Shāfiʿī (may God be well pleased with him!) said, 'If the possessor of a slave-girl gather men together to listen to her, he is of light understanding, you shall reject his testimony.'" And he narrated further from ash-Shāfiʿī: "He disliked beating time with a stick [*qaḍīb*], and was wont to say that freethinkers[1] made use of that to divert their attention from hearing the Qur'ān. And ash-Shāfiʿī said, 'On account of tradition, playing at backgammon is disliked more than playing on any kind of musical instrument. And I do not like playing at chess; I dislike all the games which men play, because play does not belong to the actions of the people of religion and manly virtue' [*murū'a*]. And as for Mālik[2] (may God have mercy on him!), he has forbidden singing. He said, 'When a man buys a slave-girl and finds that she is a singer, then it is his duty to send her back.' That is the view of the rest of the people of al-Madīna except Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd[3] alone. And

[1] *Zindīqs*, a very general term. The SM. interprets it of those who hold by no law and assert the eternal pre-existence of the world. Very frequently it means those who externally profess Islām, but do not believe in their hearts. See Huart, *Les Zindiqs en droit musulman*, Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, part iii, pp. 69 ff.
[2] Mālik b. Anas al-Ḥimyarī al-Madanī; d. 179. Wüstenfeld's an-Nawawī, pp. 530 ff. On his relation to music and singing, see also Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, p. 79, note.
[3] Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Qurashī az-Zuhrī Abū Isḥāq al-Madanī Nazīl Baghdād; 108–185. He was one of the shaykhs of ash-Shāfiʿī, and handed down traditions especially from Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī. The SM. has a lengthened notice of him under this occurrence, giving anecdotes of his love of music and singing and of his interviews with ar-Rashīd and others.

as for Abū Ḥanīfa[1] (may God be well pleased with him!), he disliked it and made hearing singing a sin; and so all the people of al-Kūfa, Sufyān ath-Thawrī[2] and Ḥammād[3] and Ibrāhīm[4] and ash-Sha'bī[5] and the rest."

All this the Qāḍī Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī has adduced. But Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī[6] adduced the allowableness of listening to music and singing from a number of the first believers. He said, "Of the Companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far[7] and 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr[8] and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba[9] and Mu'āwiya[10] and others listened to music and singing." He said further, "Many of the excellent first believers, both Companions and Followers,[11] have done that along with pious works." And he said, "The people of al-Ḥijāz with us in Makka did not cease to listen to music and singing even in the most excellent of the days of the year, and these are The Few Days[12] in which God

[1] Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Thābit; 80–150. Ibn Khall., iii, 555 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī (d. 973), *Al-khayrāt al-ḥasanāt*, Cairo, 1304.

[2] Sufyān ath-Thawrī; 95–161. Ibn Khall., i, p. 576; an-Naw., pp. 286 ff. For anecdotes of him, see Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia Arabica*, pp. 61 f., and *Lawāqiḥ* of ash-Sha'rānī, vol. i, pp. 38 ff., of ed. of Cairo, 1316.

[3] Abū Ismā'īl Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān Muslim; d. 120. Ibn Khall., iii, p. 564, n. 5; an-Naw., p. 135.

[4] Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī; d. 96. An-Naw., pp. 135 ff.

[5] Āmir b. Sharāḥīl ash-Sha'bī; d. 104, 5. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, pp. 229 ff.

[6] The author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*; d. 386. See note 2 on p. 91 of Life of al-Ghazzālī (Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. xx).

[7] 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; d. 80. An-Naw., pp. 337 ff.; Ibn Qut., 104. The SM. gives some details as to his love of music and singing. See, too, a story about him and his singing-girl 'Ammāra given by Derenbourg and Spiro in their *Chrestomathie* from the *Aswāq al-ashwāq* of al-Biqā'ī.

[8] 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, killed by al-Ḥajjāj in Mecca in 73. An-Naw., pp. 341 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 112 ff.; Quatremère in JA., sér. II, ix, 289, 385; x, 39, 137. The SM. again gives further details on his love of music.

[9] Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba b. Abī 'Āmir ath-Thaqafī; d. 50. An-Naw., pp. 572, misprinted 576, f.

[10] Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān al-Umawī, the Khalīfa; d. 60.

[11] The Companions are those contemporaries of Muḥammad who came into personal contact with him as believers, and who died as believers; the Followers (*at-Tābi'ūn*) are those who received traditions directly from Companions. The SM. comments to the extent of six large quarto pages.

[12] The reference is to Qur'ān, ii, 199: *And remember God for a few days.* On account of the context this phrase has become limited to certain days in the month Dhū-l-ḥijja, which are thence called 'The Few Days.' Lane, in the Lexicon, *sub* √ 'DD, p. 1,971*c*, identifies these with the *Ayyām at-tashrīq* (p. 1,539*c*) as the 11th, 12th, and 13th, the three days after the 10th, the day of sacrifice, when the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and dried in the sun;

commanded His servants to remember Him, such as the days of at-Tashrīq. And the people of al-Madīna, like the people of Makka, have not ceased persisting in listening to music and singing up to this our time. We have known Abū Marwān the Qāḍī,[1] who had slave-girls who chanted in public and whom he had prepared to sing to Ṣūfīs." And he said further, "'Aṭā[2] had two slave-girls who chanted, and his brethren were wont to listen to them." And he said further, "They said to Abū-l-Ḥasan b. Sālim,[3] 'How dost thou forbid listening to music and singing when Junayd[4] and Sarī as-Saqaṭī[5] and Dhū-n-Nūn[6] were wont to listen?' Then he said, 'And how have I forbidden music and singing when those that are better than I have allowed it and listened to it?' And 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār[7] was

other explanations of the name are also given. But in this passage in al-Ghazzālī 'The Few Days' and the 'Days of Tashrīq' do not seem to cover one another, and al-Bayḍāwī (on Qur., ii, 199) seems to extend the term *Ayyām at-tashrīq* to cover the 10th of Dhū-l-ḥijja. See, too, al-Bērūnī's *Āthār*, p. 333 of translation.

[1] Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Khālid b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān al-Madanī Nazīl bi-Makka; d. 241.

[2] Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā b. Abī Rabāḥ Aslam al-Makkī al-Qurashī; d. 114, 15, 17? An-Naw., pp. 422 f.

[3] Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, one of the shaykhs of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, the author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*. He is referred to elsewhere in this book and in Ibn Khall., iii, p. 20.

[4] Abū-l-Qāsim al-Junayd b. Muḥammad; d. 297, 98. Ibn Khall., i, p. 338, and Life of al-Ghazzālī, p. 91; de Sacy from Jāmī in *Notices et Extr.*, xii, pp. 426 ff.; *Lawāqiḥ* of ash-Sha'rānī, pp. 67 ff.

[5] Sarī b. al-Mughallis as-Saqaṭī (uncle and shaykh of the above); d. 256, 57. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 555 ff.

[6] Abū-l-Fayḍ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī; d. 245, 46, 48? Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 10 of ed. of Cairo, 1304; Ibn Khall., i, pp. 291 ff.; Kosegarten's *Chrest. arab.*, pp. 58 ff.; *Lawāqiḥ*, pp. 56 f.

[7] This is the grandson of Abū Ṭālib referred to in note 7 on p. 202. *Aṭ-Ṭayyār* is a *laqab* of Ja'far and not of 'Abd Allāh. He was also called *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn*. For an account of how he gained these names, after his death, see the notice of him in an-Naw., pp. 193 f. Legend continued to grow up round him, for among the Indian Muslims he has become a Jinnī who appeared to al-Ḥusayn before he was killed and offered his assistance; he is also invoked for magical purposes, and is the reputed author of the book *al-Jafr* (*Life*, p. 113, note 2); see Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islām*, pp. 166 and 380, and Burton, *Arabian Nights*, xii, p. 115. *Aṭ-Ṭayyār* occurs also in the *Fihrist*, p. 175, as a *laqab* of 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Mītham, but is considered by the editors to be an error for aṭ-Ṭammār. As this 'Alī also was a Shī'ite the name may be right. *Dhū-l-Janāḥayn* is the name of a Jinnī in the *Thousand and One Nights*, N. 583. See, too, Goldziher's article *Ueber Dual-titel* in the Wiener Zeitsch., xiii, p. 325 and note.

wont to listen, and he only forbad sporting and playing in listening. And it is related from Yaḥyà b. Mu'ādh[1] that he said, 'We miss three things and do not see them, and I shall not see them increase save little, beauty of face with modesty, beauty of speech with honesty, and beauty of brotherliness with abiding by duty.'" And I saw in some books this very thing related from al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī,[2] and it shows that he permitted listening to music and singing in spite of his asceticism and piety and strenuousness and energy in religion. Further he said, "Ibn Mujāhid[3] was not wont to accept an invitation except there was to be music and singing." And more than one has narrated that he said, "We gathered together to a banquet, and along with us were Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī'[4] and Abū Bakr b. Dā'ūd[5] and Ibn Mujāhid with others their like, and there was music and singing there. Then Ibn Mujāhid began to urge on Ibn bint Manī' against Ibn Dā'ūd as to listening to the singing. And Ibn Dā'ūd said, 'My father related from Ibn Ḥanbal[6] that he disliked listening to music and singing, and my father disliked it, and I hold the view of my father.' Then Abū-l-Qāsim b. bint Manī' said, 'As for my grandfather Aḥmad b. bint

[1] Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyà b. Mu'ādh ar-Rāzī, d. 258. Al-Qushayrī, *Risāla*, p. 20; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 51 ff.

[2] Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī; d. 243. See note in *Life*, p. 91. Ibn Khall., i, p. 365, gives this saying as his.

[3] The SM. is in doubt as to who is meant here. According to him it may be Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Mujāhid, the shaykh of the Mutakallims and the shaykh of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqilānī (d. 403; see Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des As'aritenthums*, pp. 108 ff.); as-Subkī gives his biography in the *Tabaqāt*. This Abū 'Abd Allāh appears to be the same as Abū-l-'Abbās b. Mujāhid at-Tā'ī al-Baṣrī, an immediate pupil of al-Ash'arī; see Schreiner, pp. 82 and 106. Schreiner refers to Ibn Khaldūn, *Muq.* ed. of Būlāq, p. 382, and the *Milal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Or it may be Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsà b. al-'Abbās b. al-Mujāhid al-Muqri' al-Baghdādī, d. 324; ad-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385; Ibn Khall., i, p. 455, note 1; ii, p. 239; and Wüstenfeld, *Schâf.*, p. 194) narrated from him: see on him Wüstenfeld, *Schâf.*, pp. 132 f.; Ibn. Khall, i, p. 27; iii, pp. 16, 18.

[4] Abū-l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sibṭ (son of the daughter) Aḥmad b. Manī' al-Baghawī; d. 317. Ibn Khall., i, p. 323, n. 6.

[5] Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dā'ūd Sulaymān (Wüsten., *Schâf.*, p. 90) b. al-Ash'ath as-Sijistānī; 230–316 (the SM. has 310). See Wüsten., *Schâf.*, pp. 120 ff.

[6] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; d. 241. See Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna*.

Manī',[1] he told me from Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad[2] that his father used to listen to the voice of Ibn al-Khabbāza.'[3] Then said Ibn Mujāhid to Ibn Dā'ūd, 'Don't bother us with your father'; and to Ibn bint Manī', 'Don't bother us with your grandfather. What do you say, Abū Bakr, of one who recites a verse of poetry; is it unlawful?' Ibn Dā'ūd said, 'No.' 'And if he has a beautiful voice, is it unlawful for him to recite it?' He said, 'No.' 'And if he recite it, and recite more than one and shorten in it that which is long and lengthen in it that which is short, is it unlawful?' He said, 'I am not equal to one devil; then how should I be equal to two?'" Further he said, "Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Asqalānī, the black,[4] one of the Saints, was wont to listen to music and singing and to be distracted with longing thereat, and he wrote a book about it, and overthrew in that book those who blame music; and, similarly, a number have written to overcome those blaming it."

Further it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he said, "I saw Abū-l-'Abbās al-Khaḍir[5] (peace be upon

[1] Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Manī' b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī, the deaf; was cousin (ibn 'amm) of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Baghawī; settled at Baghdād and passed on traditions from al-Bukhārī (d. 256); 160–244.

[2] Abū-l-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; 203–266. See Patton by index.

[3] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyà b. Zakarīyā al-Baghdādī, the poet. He was a contemporary of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as is shown by the following stories told by the SM. One goes back to his son Ṣāliḥ, who said: "I used to like to listen to singing, but my father disliked it. And I made an appointment one night with Ibn Khabbāza, and he waited with me till I knew that my father was asleep, and then he began to sing. But I heard a sound on the roof, and went up and saw my father there listening to the singing with his skirt tucked under his arm, stepping out on the roof as though he were dancing." The second story goes back to his other son 'Abd Allāh. He said: "I used to invite Ibn Khabbāza, but my father forbad us to have singing; so I used, whenever he was with me, to hide him from my father that he might not hear. And he came one night to me and was chanting (*kāna yaqūlu*). And my father had need of something with us—we were in a by-street—and heard Ibn Khabbāza chanting, and something in his chanting struck him. And I went out to see, and there was my father striding to and fro, so I shut the door and went in again. In the morning he said, 'My little son, when it is like that, this speaking (*kalām*) is excellent.'" Was this Ibn Khabbāza the Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdī who was a contemporary of Abū-l-Walīd Muslim? See the *Dīwān* of the latter ed. by de Goeje, pp. 244, 253. I can find no other possible reference.

[4] If this is the Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Asqalānī of Ibn Khall., i, 410, he was a contemporary of the wazīr al-Muhallabī, who died 352. Some MSS. of the *Qūt al-qulūb* give his *kunya* as Abū-l-Khayr.

[5] On al-Khaḍir see Ibn Qut., p. 21; an-Naw., pp. 228 ff.; ath-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 189 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298. Also Goldziher, *Arab. Philol.*, ii, pp. lxiv, 1, and *Lisān*, v, 332.

him!) and I said to him, 'What do you say concerning this listening to music and singing as to which my comrades disagree?' Then he said, 'It is slipperiness itself; only the feet of the learned stand firm upon it.'" Further it is related from Mimshād ad-Dīnawarī[1] that he said, "I saw the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) in sleep and said, 'O Apostle of God, do you blame anything in this listening to music and singing?' He said, 'I do not blame anything in it, but say to them that they open before it with the Qur'ān and close after it with the Qur'ān.'" Further it is related from Ṭāhir b. Bilāl al-Hamdānī al-warrāq[2]—he was of the people of science—that he said, "I was in retreat[3] in the great Mosque of Judda by the sea and saw one day a gathering of people who were repeating and listening to poetry in one of the sides of the Mosque. Then I blamed that in my heart and said to myself, 'In one of the houses of God they repeat poetry!' Then I saw the Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) that night, and he was sitting in that place and by his side was Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (may God be well pleased with him!), and lo! Abū Bakr was repeating some poetry and the Prophet was listening to him and laying his hand upon his breast like one in an ecstasy at that. Then I said in my soul, 'It behoved me not to have blamed those that were listening to poetry, for here is the Apostle of God listening and Abū Bakr repeating.' Then I turned to the Apostle of God, and he said, 'This is truth in truth,' or he said, 'truth of truth'[4]—I am not certain which." Further, al-Junayd said, "Grace descends upon this gathering on three occasions,—at eating, for they do not eat except from need; at conversation, for they do not talk together except at assemblies of the upright;

[1] Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Mimshād (?) ad-Dīnawarī, was a pupil of al-Junayd, and d. 299. Al-Qush., p. 31; Ibn Khall., iii, p. 385; Abū-l-Maḥāsin, ii, p. 187; *Lawāqiḥ*, p. 81.

[2] The SM. reads b. Hilāl, and remarks that in some MSS it is Ṭāhir b. Bilāl b. Balbal, and that it is so in the *Qūt*. I know nothing more about him.

[3] *Kuntu mu'tafikan*; on *I'tikāf* see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,122*a*, and *Lisān*, xi, p. 161; also ash-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, pp. 68 f.

[4] *Ḥaqq bi-ḥaqq*, or *ḥaqq min ḥaqq*. It appears to mean, *This is absolutely true*, but whether it is said of the verses or to confirm the dream is not clear.

and at listening to music and singing, for they hear with ecstasy and witness to truth." Further, from Ibn Jurayj[1] it is related that he was wont to allow listening to music and singing, and that it was said to him, "Will this be brought on the day of resurrection among thy good deeds or thy evil deeds?" And he said, "Neither in the good deeds nor the evil deeds, for it is like idle talk; and God Most High has said, *God will not blame you for idle talk in your oaths*" [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91].

This is what is adduced of sayings and of the search for truth in tradition. Then, whenever anyone examines deeply, he finds sayings contradicting one another, and is left confused or inclining to one of the sayings through his desire; and all that means failure. But truth should rather be sought in its own way, and that is by examining into the legal sources of prohibition and permission just as we shall now do.

2.

A statement of the things which show that Listening to Music and Singing is allowable.

Know that the meaning of the saying that listening to music and singing is unlawful is that God Most High has laid it under penalty. And that is a thing that cannot be known by simple reason, but by report and knowledge of the laws, which are limited to statute [*naṣṣ*][2] and to analogy [*qiyās*] from what is fixed by statute. I mean by statute

[1] Abū-l-Walīd 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jurayj al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Makkī; d. 150. An-Naw., p. 787; Ibn Khall., ii, p. 116.

[2] *Naṣṣ* thus includes *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*; in *Sunna* are three divisions, *qawl*, *fi'l*, and *taqrīr*, approving by silence. The *Sunna* indicated by speech is *ḥadīth*. The bases of Muslim law are four, *Qur'ān*, *Sunna*, *Qiyāṣ*, and *Ijmā'*, or the agreement of the Muslim Church on any point. Here al-Ghazzālī omits *Ijmā'*, but it is it which in the long run has brought about the triumph of his views. *Qur'ān* + *Sunna* = the Bible; *Ijmā'* = the Church; Reason is represented very feebly by *Qiyāṣ*. A good statement of the four bases is given by Snouck Hurgronje in his article, *Le droit Musulman* in the Revue de l'histoire des religions, tome xxxvii, pp. 1 ff. and 174 ff. On al-Ghazzālī's attitude towards Qiyāṣ, see Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 182 ff.

what he (whom may God bless and save!) has made plain by his speech or action; and by analogy, the meaning that is to be understood from his expressions and actions. And if a statute does not exist with regard to this thing, and an analogy from something fixed by statute cannot be upheld with regard to it, then the saying that it is forbidden is void, and it remains an action in which there is no sin, like the rest of permitted things. But the forbidding of listening to music and singing is not shown by statute nor by analogy; that such is the case, will be evident through our answer to the proofs of those who incline to its being forbidden. Then, whenever the answer to their proofs is complete, our object will be sufficiently attained; but we go further, and say that both statute and analogy, as a whole, indicate its allowableness.

As for analogy, in singing there are joined ideas which, separately first and then as a whole, must be examined; for in it there is hearing of a sound, pleasant, measured, having a meaning to be understood, moving the heart. The general description is that it is a pleasant sound; then the pleasant is divided into measured and not measured; and the measured is divided into what has a meaning to be understood, such as poems, and what has not, such as the sounds produced by lifeless substances and by other animals than man.

And hearing a pleasant sound ought not to be forbidden in respect that it is pleasant, but is lawful by statute and by analogy. By analogy, because it can be reduced to a pleasing of the sense of hearing by perception of that which is assigned exclusively to that sense. Man has reason and five senses; and to each sense belongs a perception, and in the things perceived by that sense is what gives pleasure. The pleasure of seeing is in the beautiful things seen, such as greenness, flowing water, or a fair face, and, in general, all beautiful colours which are opposed to what is disliked of dull ugly colours. Smelling has pleasant scents, and these are opposed to disagreeable stenches. Taste has pleasant foods, such as gravy-meat and sweet-meat, and

sour things, and these are opposed to nauseous bitters. Touch has the pleasure of softness and tenderness and smoothness, and these are opposed to roughness and jaggedness. And reason has the pleasure of knowledge and science, and these are opposed to ignorance and stupidity. So, too, the sounds perceived by hearing divide into those that are regarded with pleasure, as the voice of nightingales and musical pipes, and those regarded as disagreeable, as the braying of the ass and such. Then what a manifest analogy there is between this sense and its pleasures and the other senses and their pleasures!

And as for statute, the allowableness of hearing a beautiful voice is shown by the fact that God has granted such to His creatures, since He said, *He increases in His creatures that which He wills*,[1] and it is said by exegetes that the thing increased here is beauty of voice. Also in tradition stands, "God has not sent a prophet except with a beautiful voice." Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said, "God listens more intently to a man with a beautiful voice reading the Qur'ān than does the master of a singing slave-girl to his slave-girl." And in tradition by way of praise to Dā'ūd[2] (upon him be peace!) is that he was beautiful of voice in bemoaning himself and in repeating the Psalms to such an extent that mankind and Jinn and wild beasts and birds were wont to gather together to hear his voice, and there were wont to be carried out of his place of assembly four hundred corpses or thereabout on occasions. Further, he (whom God bless and save!) said of Abū Mūsà al-Ash'arī,[3] "Verily, he has been granted a pipe of the pipes of the family of Dā'ūd." And there is the saying of God Most High, *Verily the worst liked of voices is the voice of the ass* [Qur., xxxi, 18], indicating implicit praise of a beautiful voice. Further, were it possible to say that such is permitted

[1] Qur'ān, xxxv, 1. This is the exegesis of az-Zuhrī and Ibn 'Abbās; Bayḍ., ii, p. 148, l. 12.
[2] On David in Muslim tradition, see ath-Tha'labī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 235–255.
[3] D. 44? See Spitta, *Zur Geschichte al-As'arī's*, pp. 18 ff. and 115.

only on condition that the recital be of the Qur'ān, then that would involve that listening to the voice of nightingales is forbidden, for they do not recite the Qur'ān. Then, when it is possible to listen to an undistinguishable voice in which is no meaning, why is it not possible to listen to a voice from which wisdom may be understood and sound and commendable qualities; and "Verily, from poetry is wisdom."[1] This is a consideration of the voice in so far as it is pleasant and beautiful.

The second step is considering the pleasant measured sound; for measure comes after beauty, and how many beautiful sounds there are which fall outside of measure, and how many measured sounds which are not regarded as pleasant! And measured sounds with regard to their place of origin are of three kinds; for they issue either from inanimate substances, as does the sound of musical pipes and of strings and the beating of the *qaḍīb*[2] and the *ṭabl*[3] and so on, or they issue from the throat of an animal. And the animal is either a man or not, as the voice of nightingales and turtle-doves and birds which coo. These, along with their being pleasant, are measured, having reciprocally related beginnings and endings, and, therefore, hearing them is regarded as pleasant. And the original source of musical sounds is the throat of animals; for musical pipes are based on the sounds from the throat only, which is an

[1] An often quoted saying of the Prophet.

[2] The *qaḍīb* seems here and elsewhere to be a musical instrument, but I cannot find anything satisfactory in the lexica. According to the *Lisān*, *qaḍīb* seems to be capable of meaning anything on earth except a musical instrument. Dozy has the word, but only with a reference to Casiri, i, 528*a*, and there is no light there. Kiesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, p. 92, Leip., 1842, puts it under Schalmeyen, but that appears to be a guess based again on Casiri. The SM. explains it or *aḍ-ḍarb bil-qaḍīb* with التعبير; the passage is ambiguous. The only connection I can find for this is the meaning of √'BR, to meditate over a book, or read it mentally, without raising the voice, Lane, 1,936*c*, *Lisān*, vi, 204, line 3 from foot. Does this, then, allude to the bad repute of Zindīqs and Magians for murmuring to themselves? Ash-Shāfi'ī said that the Zindīqs invented *ta'bīr* to distract them from the Qur'ān; see p. 201, above. Possibly also *qaḍīb* may be a reference to the old custom of Arab singers to beat time for themselves while singing. See the story of Ibn Surayj in *Aghānī*, i, 117, and of Sā'ib Khāthir in *Aghānī*, vi, 188. The latter is said not to have used a lute, but to have beat time with a *qaḍīb* instead. I am indebted for these references to Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 169.

[3] The *ṭabl* is a drum of any kind.

imitation of created things on the part of art. And what thing is there to the forming of which artisans have attained by their art, of which there was not an example in the creation which God has made peculiarly His own by originating it, and from which example the artisan taught himself and which he used as a thing to be imitated? This subject could be developed at great length.

So it is impossible that listening to these sounds should be forbidden simply because they are pleasant and measured; for there is no one who regards the voice of the nightingale or those of the other birds as forbidden. And there is no difference between our throat and another or between inanimate substance and animate. So we ought to draw an analogy from the sounds of the nightingale to the sounds which issue from all other bodies, especially to the sounds belonging to man, as those which issue from his throat, or from the *qaḍīb* or the *ṭabl* or the *duff*[1] or the rest. But from this there is excepted those idle instruments of music, both stringed instruments and pipes, to forbid which a law was revealed; not because of their giving pleasure, since if it were on that account all the things by which man receives pleasure would be judged like these. But wine was forbidden, and man's excessive addiction to it required, to wean him from it, that the command should extend at first so far as to involve the breaking of wine-jars. And, along with wine, was forbidden all that was a badge of people who drank it, in this case stringed instruments and pipes only. So these being forbidden was a consequence just as being alone with a woman not a relative is forbidden, for being so alone precedes sexual intercourse; and seeing the thigh is forbidden, for the thigh is near to the *pudenda*; and a little wine is forbidden, even though it does not intoxicate, because it invites to intoxication. There is no forbidden place [*ḥarām*], but it has a sacred precinct [*ḥimā*] which surrounds it, and the decree of prohibition extends to the sacred

[1] The *duff* is a tambourine, with or without bells. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 888*b*, and the reference there to *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii.

precinct in order that it may be a reservation for the forbidden place and a defence to it and an enclosure keeping off from it round about, as he (whom may God bless and save!) has said, "Lo! every king has a reservation, and the reservation of God is the things which He has forbidden."[1]

So these are forbidden as a consequence of wine being forbidden, and for three reasons. The first is that they incite to the drinking of wine; for the pleasure found in them is only complete through wine. Like this reason is the forbidding of a little wine. And the second is that they, in truth, are of the closest kin to the drinking of wine and remind assemblies of men of drinking. They are thus a cause of remembering it, and remembering it, is a cause that longing is aroused, and aroused longing, when it is strong, is a cause of beginning. For this reason it is forbidden to make *nabīdh*[2] in a *muzaffat*[3] or a *ḥantam*[4] or a *naqīr*,[5] for these are vessels that were specially identified with wine. And the meaning of this is, that beholding the form of these vessels brings wine to mind,[6] and this reason is different from the first as there is not in it the element of pleasure in the memory, since there is no pleasure in seeing a wine-vessel and the pitchers for drinking, but the point is simply in the being reminded by them. Then, if listening to music and singing, in the case of him who has associated such listening with drinking, reminds of drinking with a kind of reminder that urges towards wine, he is forbidden to listen on account of the occurrence of this reason especially

[1] So the Massoreth is a fence to the Law; Rabbi 'Aqîbhâ in the *Pirqê Âbhōth*, iii, 17.

[2] *Nabīdh* is a drink made of dates, raisins, etc., macerated in water and left to ferment; if it be left long it becomes intoxicating, and is then unlawful, but if it stand only over night it may be drunk; the term is often applied to *khamr*, true wine.

[3] *Muzaffat* is anything smeared with *zift*, pitch or tar; then a wine skin or jar so smeared.

[4] The *ḥantam* is a green or red glazed or varnished jar, the use of which in making *nabīdh* is forbidden in tradition. It is said that the fermentation of the *nabīdh* was more rapid on account of the varnish or glaze.

[5] *Naqīr* is a block of wood or the stump of a palm-tree hollowed out and used to make *nabīdh* in it; the *nabīdh* so made was supposed to be peculiarly strong.

[6] "¡O Tobasescas tinajas, que me habeis traido á la memoria la dulce prenda de mi mayor amargura!"—*Don Quijote*, parte ii, cap. xviii.

in him. The third reason is the gathering together to do those things after such a gathering together has become one of the customs of dissolute people. So it is prohibited to become like to them; for he who becomes like to a people becomes one of them. On this account we hold that the ordinary custom [*sunna*] should be abandoned whenever it has become a badge for heretical people, so that we may not become like to them. For this reason beating of the *kūba*[1] is prohibited. It is a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the extremities, and beating it was a custom of the *Mukhannaths*.[2] Yet if it were not for the comparison it suggests it would be like the drum used by pilgrims and in warfare. For this reason, too, we hold that if a company come together and decorate their place of meeting and bring utensils for drinking and cups and pour into them *sakanjabayn*[3] and appoint a cupbearer who shall go round and pour out to them, and they take from the cupbearer and drink and salute one another with the phrases in common use, this is unlawful for them, although what they drink is permissible in itself; for in this there is a becoming like to dissolute people. Even for this, wearing the *qabā'*[4] and leaving the hair on the head in

[1] The SM. describes the *kūba* as a long-shaped drum, slender in the middle and broad at the ends. For a similar view of it see Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 21, n. 4. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vol. viii, p. 149, describes it as "a tiny tom-tom shaped like an hour-glass," used in present-day Morocco by the reciter of romances. The use of the *kūba* is forbidden in tradition, but some hold that what is there meant by the term is not an instrument of music, but either backgammon or chess; others say it is the *barbaṭ*, or Persian lute.

[2] *Mukhannath* = 'effeminate.' On the class see Kosegarten, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, p. 11, and references there. See, further, von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, pp. 45 ff., and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, pp. 11, 54 f.

[3] *Sakanjabayn* is a drink made of vinegar and honey.

[4] The SM. defines the *qabā'* as a *farajīya* split up in front; the *farajīya* is a long robe of cloth with long sleeves coming down over the hands. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2,984*c*, says that the *qabā'* is "a kind of tunic resembling the *qaftān*, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front, and made to overlap over the chest." The *Lisān*, xx, p. 28, derives it from *qabā*, "to gather together with the fingers," because the edges (*aṭrāf*) that overlap are so held together. See, too, Dozy, *Noms des Vêtements*, pp. 352–362, who distinguishes a Persian and an Arab *qabā'*, the later called *Islāmi*. I can find no trace of its being forbidden. The tufts of hair (*qaza'*) may be a form of the *shūsha*, which, strictly considered, is illegal; see Burton's note in his *Arabian Nights*, i, p. 284. The *Lisān*, x, pp. 143 f., explains that it was a practice

tufts are forbidden in those countries in which the *qabā'* belongs to the clothing of dissolute people, but is not forbidden in *Ma-warā-an-nahr*, because moral people there are accustomed to wear it. For these reasons, then, the pipe of *al-'Irāq* and all stringed instruments are unlawful, such as the *'ūd*[1] and the *sanj* and the *rabāb* and the *barbaṭ*. But all besides these do not come under this, as the *shāhīn* of shepherds and pilgrims and the *shāhīn* of drummers and the drum and the *qaḍīb* and every instrument from which is extracted pleasing, measured sounds, except what drinking people use. This is because all these are not connected with wine and do not call wine to mind and do not incite to it and do not involve becoming like to those addicted to it and, generally, are not essentially connected with it. These remain in their original permissibleness on the analogy of the sounds of birds, etc. Further, I hold that the music of stringed instruments, even if they are played by one who plays with a rhythm that is out of proportion and is not pleasing, is also unlawful. From this it is plain that the reason why such music is unlawful is not simply because it is pleasing; for analogy would lead to permission of all agreeable things except those in the permission of which is dissoluteness. God Most High said, *Say, who hath forbidden the adornment of God which He hath provided for His creatures, and the agreeable things of sustenance?*

to shave the heads of boys, partially leaving the hair in tufts, and that this is forbidden in tradition. *Qaza'* is said also of broken clouds, arrows with very small feathers, camels and sheep when the wool drops off in patches, etc.

[1] For the *'ūd* and *rabāb*, lute and viol, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii; Lane, in the *Lexicon*, s.v., conjectures that the *sanj* is the Persian *chang*, the modern Arabic *junk*, and refers to his *Arabian Nights*, chap. iii, n. 26; *barbaṭ* is noticed in note 1 above. *Shāhīn* is more difficult, and the Arabic lexicons give no aid. It is used by the shepherd and the drummer, excites longing and sadness, reduces courage and reminds of home. Dozy again refers only to Casiri, i, p. 528*a*, and Kiesewetter (loc. cit.) from the same source again guesses Schnabel-pfeife. Von Kremer in his *Beiträge* refers to these passages in the *Iḥyā*, and guesses "ein Musikinstrument das geschlagen wird. Vermuthlich eine Art Handtrommel." According to the SM. it is the Persian صرنای. This is given by Zenker as زرنا, زورنا, and سرنای, formed from سور and نای = 'hautbois, clarinette.' Vullers has "genus fistulae quo canunt diebus festis"; i.e. from صور = 'festival' and نای = 'flute.' There is a description of it by al-Fārābī in Land's *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, p. 128. See, too, Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. xlviii of Appendix.

[Qur., vii, 30]. So these sounds are not unlawful because they are rhythmical sounds, but only on account of another accident which we shall adduce among the accidents which render unlawful.

The third step regards that which is rhythmical and has a meaning, i.e. poetry. It issues from the throat of man only and has the permissibility of that which issues from the throat, since it has no addition save having a meaning. Speech which has a meaning is not unlawful, and an agreeable rhythmical sound is not unlawful. Then, since the single parts are not unlawful, how can the whole be unlawful?—always understood that there shall be an examination of the meaning conveyed.[1] If there is in it anything forbidden, saying it, either in prose or verse, is unlawful, and speaking it, whether with melodies or without. And the truth in this is what ash-Shāfi'ī (may God have mercy on him!) said. He said, "Poetry is speech, and what of it is beautiful is beautiful and what of it is vile is vile." Therefore, whenever reciting poetry is possible without music and melodies, reciting it is possible with melodies; for if the single things are allowable, the compound, when they are joined together, is allowable. And whenever an allowable thing is joined to an allowable, the result is not unlawful except when the compound contains something forbidden which the single things did not contain. But there is no forbidden thing here.

And how could the reciting of poetry be blamed when it has been recited in the presence of the Prophet of God, who said, "Lo! from poetry is wisdom." And 'Ā'isha (may God be well pleased with her!) recited—

> "They went away in whose shadow men had lived,
> And I remained, left behind, like a mangy skin."[2]

[1] Quite of al-Ghazzālī's opinion was the old woman who was much impressed by a certain sermon. "But," it was objected, "the minister read it." "Read it!" said she, "I wadna hae minded gin he had whustled it!"

[2] The verse is by Labīd b. Rabī'a.

And it is handed down in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*[1] from 'Ā'isha that she said, "When the Apostle of God came to al-Madīna, Abū Bakr and Bilāl (may God be well pleased with them both!) sickened and there was pestilence there. Then I said, 'O my father, how do you find yourself?' and 'O Bilāl, how do you find yourself?' Then Abū Bakr would say when the fever seized him—

'To every man saluted in the morning among his people
Death is nearer than the latchet of his shoe.'

And Bilāl was wont when the fever relaxed from him to lift up his voice and say—

'Ah! would that I knew whether I shall pass the night, one night,
In a wādī with fragrant rush and panic grass around me,
And shall go down, one day, to the wells of Majanna,[2]
And there shall be seen by me Shāma and Ṭafīl!'"

'Ā'isha said, "Then I told that to the Apostle of God, and he said, 'O God, make al-Madīna beloved to us like our love for Makka or more!'" And the Apostle of God was wont to carry the unburnt bricks with the people in the building of the Mosque, and he would say—

"This is the fruit, not the fruit of Khaybar;
This our Lord hath accepted and purified."

And he said also another time—

"O God, verily the true life is the life of the other world;
So have mercy on the Anṣārs and the Muhājirs."

[1] The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim. The narratives that follow are in al-Bukhārī, iv, 8 and 246, vii, 159, of vocalized ed. of Cairo, 1293. See, too, Ibn Hishām, pp. 337 and 414. It should be noticed that al-Ghazzālī appears to regard the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* as of canonical authority. But see in Goldziher, *Studien*, ii, pp. 256 ff., that a tradition found in them was not therefore received without question. On the verses spoken by Muḥammad, see *Lisān*, xiii, 188. Apparently there is a play on the word *ḥimāl* as a possible plural of *ḥiml*, 'fruit,' and *ḥaml*, 'burden.' This is not the fruit of Khaybar which passes away, but a burden-bearing that is more excellent and abides like fruit of Paradise.

[2] The wells of Majanna are at Mecca; Shāma and Ṭafīl are also wells there.

This is in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. And the Prophet was wont to set for Ḥassān[1] a pulpit in the Mosque, on which he would stand erect boasting (FKHR) of the Apostle of God or defending him. And the Apostle of God was wont to say, "God aids Ḥassan with the *Rūḥ al-Quds* so long as he is defending or boasting of the Apostle of God." And when an-Nābigha[2] recited to him his poetry he said to him, "May God not scatter thy teeth!" And 'Ā'isha said: "The Companions of the Apostle of God used to recite poems to one another in his presence, and he would smile." And it is related from 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd from his father; he said: "I recited to the Apostle of God a hundred verses of the poetry of Umayya b. Abī-ṣ-Ṣalt[3]—to all that he kept saying, 'Go on, go on!'—then he said, 'He has almost become a Muslim in his poetry.'" And it is related from al-Anas[4] (may God be well pleased with him!) that the Prophet used to make him sing the camel-driver's song when travelling, and that Anjusha[5] used to sing it for the women and al-Barā b. Mālik for the men. Then the Apostle of God said: "O Anjusha, go gently in thy driving with the big glass bottles." The driving-song behind the camels did not cease to be one of the customs of the Arabs in the time of the Apostle of God, and in the time of the Companions, and it is nothing but poems equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies. Blame of it has not been transmitted from one of the Companions, but often they used to ask for it, sometimes to rouse the camels and sometimes for the pleasure. So it is not possible for a thing to be unlawful on the ground that it is speech, having a meaning, equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies.

[1] Ḥassān b. Thābit; d. 54. An-Naw., pp. 203 f.; *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, p. 314 of ed. of Cairo, 1308.

[2] An-Nābigha al-Ja'dī. An-Naw., pp. 586 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 456.

[3] An-Naw., pp. 476 and 314; Cheikho, *Kitāb shu'arā an-Naṣraniya*, pp. 219–237; *Aghānī*, iii, 186–192.

[4] Anas b. Mālik; d. 93? An-Naw., p. 165.

[5] So according to the SM., but an-Naw., p. 164, prescribes *Anjasha*. On the *uḥdūwa*, or camel-drivers' chant, see Goldz., *Arabische Philologie*, p. 95 and note. On al-Barā, the brother of Anas, and the *qawārīr*, see Ibn Khall., 603, n. 2.

The fourth step is considering music and singing on the side that they are movers of the heart and arousers of that which preponderates in the heart. And I say that to God Most High belongs a secret consisting in the relationship of measured airs to the souls of men, so that the airs work upon them with a wonderful working. Some sounds make to rejoice and some to grieve, some put to sleep and some make to laugh, some excite and some bring from the members movements according to the measure, with the hand and the foot and the head. And we need not suppose that that is through understanding what is meant by the poetry, for it is possible in the case of stringed instruments, so that it is said: "He whom the Spring does not move with its blossoms, nor the *'ūd* with its strings, is corrupt of nature; for him there is no cure." And how can it be through the understanding of a meaning when its working is seen on a child in its cradle? An agreeable sound stills him in his crying, and turns his soul from what made him cry to attention to the music itself. And the camel, in spite of its stupidity of nature, feels the effect of the driving-song to such a degree that, hearing it, he counts heavy loads light, and, in the strength of his alacrity through listening to it, holds long distances short; such an alacrity is aroused in him as intoxicates and distracts him. Then you will see, when the deserts grow long to them, and fatigue and weariness under the loads and burdens seize upon them, whenever they hear someone strike up the driving-song, how they extend their necks and pay attention to the singer with ears erect, and hasten in their pace till the loads and burdens shake upon them, and often they kill themselves from the force of the pace and the weight of the burdens, while they do not perceive it through their alacrity.

And Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd ad-Dīnawarī, known as ar-Raqqī[1] (may God be well pleased with him!), has

[1] Died at Damascus after 350 after a life of more than 100 years, mostly spent in Syria; al-Qush., p. 36. In the Cairo ed. his name is printed ad-Daqqī.

narrated:—"I was in the desert and came to a tribe of the tribes of the Arabs, and a man of them received me as guest and led me into his tent. And I saw in the tent a black slave fettered with a fetter. And I saw dead camels lying before the tent, and there remained but one camel alive, and it was weak and thin as though it were about to perish. Then the young man said to me, 'Thou art a guest and hast a right, so intercede for me with my master, for he honours his guest, and he will not reject thy intercession to this extent, and perhaps he may loose the fetter from me.' Then when they had brought in food I refused to eat and said, 'I will not eat until I have made intercession for this slave.' And he said, 'This slave has made me poor and has destroyed all my wealth.' So I said, 'What has he done?' Then he said, 'He has a fine voice, and I got my living from the backs of these camels and their carrying heavy loads, and he would sing the driving-song to them, until they would perform a journey of three days in one night from the excellence and sweetness of his voice[1]; then when they had set down their loads they died, all of them, except this one camel. But thou art my guest, and, for the honour due to thee, I give him to thee.' So I longed to hear that voice. Then when the morning came he commanded that he should sing to a camel that it might draw water from a well there. And when he lifted up his voice and that camel heard it, he ran wild and broke his tether and I fell upon my face. I do not think that I ever heard a voice finer than it."

Then, since the impression of music and singing upon the heart can be felt,—and he who is not moved by them is one who has a lack, declining from symmetry, far from spirituality, exceeding in coarseness of nature and in rudeness camels and birds, even all beasts, for all feel the influence of measured airs and therefore the birds were wont to light on the head of Dā'ūd (on him be peace!) to listen to his voice,—and

[1] Literally, 'through the excellency of his sweetness of tone,' *naghma*. This word means also a musical sound, a note or tone in the strict sense. The *naghmas* are related to the *laḥn*, or melody, as the letters to a word. See ***Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm***, pp. 240 ff.

since the discussion is of music and singing in relation to their making impression on the heart, it is not possible to judge of the matter generally as to allowableness and whether it is not unlawful, for that varies with circumstances and persons and with the varying of the *ṭarīqas*[1] of the airs, and the rule which it follows is the rule of what is in the heart. Abū Sulaymān[2] said, "Music and singing do not produce in the heart that which is not in it, but they stir up what is in it." So the chanting of rhymed measured words is adapted on certain occasions for certain fixed purposes; through it impressions attach themselves to the heart. These occasions are seven.

The first is the singing of the pilgrims; for, before setting out, they go round the country with *ṭabl* and *shāhīn* and singing. And that is permissible, because they sing poems composed in description of the *Ka'ba* and the *Maqām*[3] and the *Ḥaṭīm* and *Zamzam* and the other places for the performance of the religious rites, and descriptions of the desert, etc. And the effect of that is to arouse a longing for pilgrimage to the House of God Most High, and to make to blaze up the fire of longing if it be already present there and to stir it and procure it if it be not already present. And since pilgrimage is an act of piety and longing to perform it is praiseworthy, the arousing that longing by every means that can arouse it is praiseworthy. And just as it is possible for a preacher that he should arrange his

[1] *Wakhtilāfi ṭuruqi-n-naghmāt*; so, at least, I read طرق in the Arabic text. The word occurs six times, here and pp. 221, 222 and others, pp. 486, 487, 488, 557(2) of the Arabic text. I leave it untranslated, as the meaning is obscure to me. The form I take to be the plural of *ṭarīq* or *ṭarīqa*, which Lane, *Lexicon*, 1,849*c*, and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v., give with meaning 'air.' But a *ṭarīqa*, as used here, seems rather to be a musical phrase, a part or section of an air (*laḥn*), except in the last case, where it appears to indicate a particular kind of air distinguished by its rhythms from other kinds. Kosegarten, in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-aghānī*, pp. 184 and 188, quotes a Persian writer on music who seems to use it of different kinds of rhythms. Al-Fārābī in Land (op. cit., pp. 136 and 103) uses *aṭ-ṭarā'iq*, and Land translates 'échelles.' Further consideration of the word I must leave to the musical.

[2] Abū Sulaymān 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ansī ad-Dārānī; d. 205 or 215. Ibn Khall., ii, p. 88.

[3] The *Maqām* is apparently the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, the Station of the Shāfi'ites; the *Ḥaṭīm* is the wall surrounding the *ḥijr Ismā'il*, and *Zamzam* is the well.

speech in preaching and adorn it with rhyme,[1] and should arouse the longing of men to perform the pilgrimage by description of the House and the places where religious rites are performed and by description of the reward for it, so that is possible for others by making absolute poetry. For when measure is added to rhymed prose [*saj'*] the speech becomes more affecting to the heart, and when a pleasing voice and measured airs are combined with it, its power of affecting increases; then, if there be added to it a *ṭabl* and a *shāhīn* and movements of rhythm, the effect still increases. And all that is possible so long as pipes and stringed instruments which belong to the badges of evil people do not enter; it being always understood that if there is intended by it the arousing of longing in one to whom it is not possible to go out on pilgrimage, like him who has annulled the duty for himself[2] and whose parents do not permit to go out, then the arousing of his longing to make pilgrimage by music and singing and by any word which arouses longing to go out is unlawful, because rousing of longing for a forbidden thing is forbidden. And similarly, if the road is not secure and danger preponderates, it is not allowable to move hearts and to work upon them by arousing longing.

The second kind is that of which warriors make use to urge men to warfare, only it is fitting that their poems and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies should differ from the poems of the pilgrims and the *ṭarīqas* of their melodies. For the rousing of that which summons a man to warfare by exciting courage and by moving wrath and anger in him against the unbelievers, and making courage appear fair and life and wealth appear contemptible as compared with warfare, is by such inspiring verses as the saying of al-Mutanabbi'—

"Then, if thou dost not die under the swords, honoured,
Thou wilt die and endure ignominy, unhonoured."

[1] On the allowableness of quoting verses in preaching, see Goldziher in ZDMG., xxviii, pp. 321 f., and the passages referred to there.

[2] See the conditions of this in ash-Shīrāzī's *Tanbīh*, pp. 69 f. of ed. of Juynboll.

And his other saying—

"The cowardly think that cowardice is prudence;
But that is the guile of base nature."

And such as these. So, too, the *ṭarīqas* of the measures exciting courage differ from the *ṭarīqas* exciting longing. This is permissible on an occasion when warfare is permissible, and approved on an occasion when warfare is liked; but that is only in the case of one to whom going out on warfare is allowed.

The third consists of the *rajaz* verses, of which the valiant make use on occasions of onset. The object of these is to excite courage in the speaker and his helpers, and produce briskness in them for battle. And in such verses there is praise of bravery and of fortitude, and such praise, when it comes in fitting word and with agreeable voice, is more affecting to the soul. It is allowable in every allowed battle, and approved in every approved battle, and forbidden in battling with Muslims and with those secured by treaty and in every forbidden battle, because the arousing of incitements to that which is forbidden is forbidden. This custom is derived from the valiant ones of the Companions, such as 'Alī and Khālid (may God be well pleased with them both!), and others than they. And for the same reason we say that the beating of the *shāhīn* should be restrained in the camp of warriors, for its voice softens and makes sad, and loosens the knot of courage and weakens the energy of the soul, and excites longing for family and home, and entails slackness in battle, and thus, too, all the sounds and melodies which soften the heart. So those that soften and make sad are distinct from those which move and excite courage, and he who uses these with intention to change hearts and slacken thoughts from a battle which is incumbent is a rebel against God; and he who does it with intention of slackening from a battle which is forbidden, by that is obedient to God.

The fourth consists of the sounds and musical airs of lamentation; these make an impression through rousing

sorrow and weeping and continuous mourning. Sorrow is of two kinds, praiseworthy and blameworthy. The blameworthy is such as sorrow for what escapes—God Most High said, *That ye may not grieve for what escapes you* [Qur., lvii, 23], —and sorrow for the dead is of this class, for it is anger with the decree of God Most High and it regrets that which cannot be repaired. Since this sorrow is blameworthy the moving it by lamentation is blameworthy, and, therefore, a clear prohibition was revealed against such lamentation. The sorrow that is praiseworthy is the sorrow of a man for his own shortcoming in matter of his religion and weeping for his sins. And weeping and striving to weep and sorrowing and striving to sorrow are praiseworthy; of this kind was the weeping of Adam (upon whom be peace!). Also moving to this sorrow and strengthening in it are praiseworthy, for it arouses energy in amending. And, therefore, was the lamentation of Dā'ūd praiseworthy, for it was in abidingness of sorrow and length of weeping because of sins and transgressions. And he used to weep and to cause weeping and to sorrow and to cause sorrowing, so that biers were lifted away from the assemblies where he lamented. And that he accomplished with his words and melodies, and it was praiseworthy; for what leads up to the praiseworthy is praiseworthy. And on account of this it is not unlawful for the preacher who has an agreeable voice that he should chant in the pulpit with melodies, poems that excite sorrow and soften the heart; nor that he should weep and strive to weep in order that he may attain by it to cause others to weep, and to stir up their sorrow.[1]

The fifth is Music and Singing on occasions of joy as an intensifier and arouser of joy. It is allowable if the joy is allowable, as singing on the days of festival and at a marriage and on the occasion of the arrival of one who has been away and on the occasion of a wedding feast and the first head-shaving and at the birth of a child and his circumcision and

[1] It is hardly necessary to notice how startlingly this is in contrast with our ideal of pulpit excellence.

when his learning of the Mighty Qur'ān is complete,—all that is allowable for the sake of the manifestation of joy through it. And the reason of its being allowable is that some melodies stir up gladness and joy and emotion, and in whatever thing joy is allowable the stirring up of joy in that thing is allowable. This is proved by the tradition of the chanting of poetry by women on the housetops with tambourines and melodies at the arrival of the Apostle of God—

> "The full moon has risen upon us from the mountain-passes of al-Wadā',
> Gratitude is incumbent upon us so long as one man prays to God."

This was a manifestation of joy for his arrival, and it was a praiseworthy joy. So its manifestation through poetry and airs and dancing and movements is also praiseworthy. It has been handed down from a number of the Companions that they hopped[1] on a joyful occasion that had befallen them, as we shall tell when we deal with the rules of dancing. It is allowable on the arrival of anyone on whose arrival gladness is allowable, and for every allowed cause of joy. This is indicated in what is handed down in the two *Saḥīḥs* from 'Ā'isha that she said, "I have known the Prophet of God concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians at javelin-play in the Mosque until I was the one who tired of it; and think of a young girl eager for amusement!"—this to indicate how long her standing lasted. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim hand down also in their *Saḥīḥs* a tradition of 'Uqayl[2] from az-Zuhrī[3] from 'Urwa[4] from 'Ā'isha that Abū Bakr came in to her in the Days of Minà,[5] and with her were two girls playing tambourines

[1] *Hajalā*; the lexicons will not permit me to translate otherwise.
[2] Abū Khālid 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Aylī al-Umawī, a mawlà of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; d. in Egypt 141.
[3] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim, known as Ibn Shihāb, al-Qurashī az-Zuhrī al-Madanī; d. 124. An-Naw., pp. 116 ff.
[4] 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Qurashī; d. 94 or 99. An-Naw., pp. 420 f.
[5] A holiday time of the pilgrimage season; see Ibn Hishām, p. 83, line 7 from foot.

and beating time while the Prophet was wrapped in his robe. And Abū Bakr rebuked them, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "Let them alone, Abū Bakr, for it is time of Festival." And 'Ā'isha said, "I have known the Prophet concealing me with his mantle while I was looking at the Abyssinians playing in the Mosque, and 'Umar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, 'It is all right, O Banū Arfada!'"[1] And in a tradition of 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith[2] from Ibn Shihāb[3] is what is similar, but in it the two girls sing and play. Further, in a tradition of Abū Ṭāhir[4] from Ibn Wahb,[5] "By Allāh, I have known the Apostle of God standing by the door of my room[6] while the Abyssinians were playing with their darts in the Mosque of the Apostle of God, and he was concealing me with his robe or mantle that I might look at the playing. Then he kept standing for my sake till I was the one who turned away." Again, it is handed down in tradition from 'Ā'isha that she said, "I was wont to play with my dolls when beside the Apostle of God, and he would bring girl-companions to me, and they would veil themselves from him, and he used to have pleasure in their coming, and they would play with me." And in a tradition is that the Prophet said to her one day, "What is this?" She said, "My dolls." He said, "But what is that I see in the middle of them?" She said, "A horse." He said, "What is this on it?" She said, "A pair of wings." He said, "Has a horse a pair of wings?" She said, "Have you not

[1] The lexicons throw no light on this *kunya*. It was evidently known to them only in the tradition which we have here. See Lane, s.v., p. 1,119*c*.
[2] Abū Umayya 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Miṣrī, al-Madanī by origin, a mawlà of Qays b. Sa'd. He was an important link in tradition, had the reputation of being a *thiqa*, stands in the third *ṭabaqa* of the *tābi'is* of Miṣr, and d. 148, aged 58. So the SM.; see, too, Ibn Khall., ii, p. 19, n. 8.
[3] Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī.
[4] Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Miṣrī, a mawlà of Nabīk (?), mawlà of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān; a *thiqa*, d. 250.
[5] Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Qurashī al-Fihrī as a mawlà, al-Miṣrī; d. 197. Ibn Khall., ii, pp. 15 ff.
[6] The apartment of 'Ā'isha opened immediately into the mosque on the left of the congregation; compare the story of how the Prophet, on the last day of his life, came in to the congregation at prayers and smiled on them.

heard that Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd[1] had horses with wings." Then the Apostle of God laughed till his canine teeth appeared. And in our opinion the tradition is to be attributed to a custom of children of making up a figure of clay and pieces of paper without completing the figure[2]; this is indicated by what is related in other traditions that the horse had a pair of wings of paper. Again, 'Ā'isha said, "The Apostle of God came in to me while two girls were with me singing a song of the Day of Bu'āth,[3] and lay down on his side on the bed and turned away his face. Then Abū Bakr entered and rebuked me, and said, 'The pipe of the Devil in the presence of the Apostle of God!' but the Apostle of God turned to him and said, 'Let them alone!' Then, when he was not attending, I made a sign to them two, and they went out. It was a festival day and the blacks were playing with hide shields and darts; then either I asked the Apostle of God or he said, 'Would you like to look on?' and I said, 'Yes.' So he made me stand behind him with my cheek against his cheek, and he kept saying, 'Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!' until, when I turned, he said, 'Had enough?' I said, 'Yes,' and he said, 'Then go.'" And in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim is, "Then I put my head upon his shoulder and began watching their playing until I was the one who turned away."

All these traditions are in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and are a clear proof that singing and playing are not forbidden. And in the traditions are indicated different kinds of permission:—First is the playing, and how the Abyssinians dance and sing is well known; the second is doing that in the Mosque; and the third is his saying, "Keep it up, O Banū Arfada!"—

[1] For Muslim traditions on Solomon see an-Naw., pp. 300 ff., and, especially, ath-Tha'labī's *Qiṣaṣ*, pp. 253 ff. of ed. of Cairo, 1298.

[2] Apparently this to guard against the idea that 'Ā'isha made, and the Prophet allowed her to make, imitations of any living thing. At the last day the makers of such will be required by their creations to give them life also.

[3] The Day of Bu'āth or Bughāth was one of the celebrated battle-days of the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. According to the SM. the fight fell between the mission of the Prophet and the Hijra, and the victory remained with al-Aws. Bu'āth is a place in al-Madīna, a *ḥiṣn* or fortress of al-Aws. See, too, *Lisān*, s.v., ii, p. 422, lines 10 ff., and p. 424, lines 1 ff.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, pp. 30 ff.

that is a command to play or a request; then how can it be considered as forbidden?—the fourth is his restraining Abū Bakr and 'Umar from condemning and stopping it and his giving as excuse that it was a festival day, that is, a time of joy, and such play is one of the causes of joy; the fifth is his standing so long witnessing it and his attending to what suited 'Ā'isha—and in it is an indication that beauty of disposition in soothing the hearts of women and children by witnessing playing is better than harshness of asceticism and self-mortification in refraining and hindering from it; the sixth is his saying first to 'Ā'isha, "Would you like to look on?" and that was not through being forced to help his wife through fear of anger or disunion, for rejection of a petition often causes disunion, and that is a thing feared,—then one thing feared is preferred to another thing feared,—but he asked the question first and there was nothing compelling him to do that; the seventh is the license given for singing and beating on the tambourine on the part of the two girls, in spite of its being compared to the pipe of the Devil, and that is a proof that the forbidden pipe is something different from what we have here; and the eighth is that the ear of the Apostle of God was struck by the voice of the two girls while he was lying on his side, but if there had been playing on stringed instruments in a place he would not have permitted even sitting there because of the sound of the stringed instruments striking his ear, so this indicates that the voice of women is not unlawful in the same way that the sound of pipes is unlawful, but only unlawful where there is fear of temptation.

These, then, are the conclusions from analogy and from statute which indicate the allowableness of singing and dancing, and beating the tambourine and playing with hide shields and with darts, and looking on at the dancing of Abyssinians and negroes on occasions of joy. All hold by analogy for a festival day, because it is an occasion of joy, and that covers a wedding-day and feast and a first head-shaving and circumcision and the day of arrival from a journey and the rest of the causes of gladness, that is,

everything with which gladness is allowable by law. And gladness is allowable at the visit of brethren and their meeting in one place to eat and talk, and that describes the occasion of listening to music and singing.

The sixth is the listening to music and poetry on the part of lovers in order to move longing and arouse love, and cause forgetfulness of self. Then, if it is in the presence of the beloved, the object is to increase pleasure, and if it is during separation, the object is to arouse longing. And though longing is painful, yet in it there is a kind of pleasure since hope of union is joined to it. For hope is pleasant and despair is painful, and the force of the pleasure of hope is in proportion to the force of the longing and the love of the thing longed for. Then, in such listening as this, there is an arousing of love and a moving of longing, and an attaining of the pleasure of hope which is involved in union, along with diffuse description of the beauty of the beloved. All this is allowable if union with the object of longing is allowable, as he who loves his wife or his concubine, and so gives attention to her singing that his pleasure in meeting her may be doubled. So he is made happy by beholding with vision and hearing with the ear, and he learns the subtle meanings of union and disunion of the heart, and so the causes of pleasure keep following one another. These, then, are different kinds out of all the equipment and the permissible things of this world which are enjoyed, *and what is the equipment of the life of this world but pastime and play?* [Qur., xxix, 64, etc.], and this which we have mentioned is of that nature.

And so, too, if the slave-girl of a man be angry with him or there come about some change between them through the influence of some cause or other, it is for him to move longing by music and singing and to stir up therewith the pleasure of the hope of union.[1] But if he sell her or free

[1] This is almost a commonplace in Arabic literature; see the story of Abū-l-Ḥasan of Khurāsān in the *Thousand and One Nights* (better in Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia arabica*), and the story of Ibn al-Aḥnaf, edited from the *Maṭāli' al-budūr* of al-Ghuzūlī by Torrey, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi.

her, that is unlawful to him thereafter, since it is not allowable to arouse longing when union and meeting in earnest would not be allowable. And as for him who pictures to himself the form of a woman looking upon whom would not be lawful to him, and who applies what he hears to what is present in his mind, that is unlawful because it is a thing which moves the fancy to forbidden deeds and stirs up an inciter to something the attaining to which were not allowable. And the majority of lovers and of the foolish, through youth, when lust is aroused, keep brooding over this kind of thing, but that should be prevented in their case on account of what is in it of hidden disease, not for anything which comes from the music itself. And therefore a physician who was asked what passionate love [*'ishq*] was replied, "A smoke which ascends into a man's brain and which sexual intercourse removes and music and singing excite."

The seventh is the listening of him who loves God and has a passion for Him and longs to meet Him so that he cannot look upon a thing but he sees it in Him (Whose perfection is extolled), and no sound strikes upon his ear but he hears it from Him and in Him. So listening to music and singing in his case is an arouser of his longing and a strengthener of his passion and his love and an inflamer of the tinderbox of his heart, and brings forth from it States[1] consisting of Revelations and Caressings, description of which cannot be comprehended,—he who has tasted them knows them, and he rejects them whose sense is blunt so that he cannot taste them. These States are called in the tongue of the Ṣūfīs *wajd*, Rapture or Ecstasy, from *wujūd*, Finding, and *muṣādafa*, Encountering, that is to say, he encounters in himself States which he had not encountered before he listened to the music. Then those States are causes of things which follow them, things which burn up the heart with their fires and purify it from taints of dinginess, just as fire purifies substances exposed to it from uncleanness. Then the purity that befalls the heart brings after it Visions and

[1] On States (*aḥwāl*) and Revelations (*mukāshafāt*) see notes on p. 94 of Life. On *wajd*, etc., see note on p. 101.

Revelations, and they are the utmost limit of the things sought by the lovers of God Most High and the ultimate fruit of all pious works. And that which enables us to reach them has its origin in the sum of pious works, not of rebellious works nor actions simply permissible. The cause of those States befalling the heart through listening to music is the secret of God Most High, and consists in a relationship of measured tones to souls and in the subjection of souls to them and their receiving impressions by them—longing and joy and sorrow and elation and depression. The knowledge of the cause why souls receive impressions through sounds belongs to the most subtle of the sciences of the Revelations which Ṣūfīs are granted, and the foolish, the frozen, the hard of heart, who are shut off from the pleasure of music and poetry, marvels how he that listens takes pleasure and at his ecstasy and state of emotion and change of colour, as a brute beast marvels at the pleasure of almond-candy and the impotent at the pleasure of sexual intercourse and the youth marvels at the pleasure of governing and at the pleasure that lies in breadth of reputation, and as the foolish marvels at the pleasure of the knowledge of God Most High and the knowledge of His majesty and might and the wonders of His creation. And for all that there is one cause, and it is that pleasure is a kind of perception and perception demands a thing perceived and a power of perceiving. Then, in the case of him whose power of perception is imperfect, that he should have pleasure through it is not to be imagined. How can he perceive the pleasure of things to eat who lacks the sense of taste, and how can he perceive the pleasure of melodies who lacks ear, and the pleasure that lies in the conclusions of the reason who lacks reason?[1] Even thus is the tasting of music and singing in the heart. After the sound has reached the ear it is perceived by an inward sense in the heart, and he who lacks that lacks inevitably the pleasure that goes with it.

[1] "Sir, I can give you reasons, but I cannot give you an understanding."—Dr. Johnson.

But, perhaps, you will say, "How can passion [*'ishq*] be imagined in the case of God Most High so that music and singing move it?" Then know that he who knows God loves Him (*aḥabbahu*) inevitably, and as his knowledge of Him strengthens, his love [*maḥabba*] of Him also strengthens, and love when it grows strong is called passion [*'ishq*], and passion is nothing else than love strengthened beyond bound. Therefore the Arabs said, "Lo! Muḥammad has a passion for his Lord," when they saw him retiring for worship in Mount Ḥirā. And know that every loveliness [*jamāl*] is beloved when there is one to perceive that loveliness, and "God Most High is lovely [*jamīl*] and He loves loveliness."[1] But loveliness, if it be in proportion of make and beauty of colours, is perceived by the sense of sight. And if the loveliness be in majesty and might and loftiness of order and beauty of qualities and character and the willing of things excellent for the world in general and pouring them out upon it constantly and other such spiritual qualities, it is perceived by the sense of the heart. And for the expression "loveliness" there is sometimes a metaphorical usage, and it is said that so and so is beautiful and lovely, and his form is not meant, but only that he is lovely of character, praiseworthy as to his qualities, beautiful as to his mode of life; and so a man is sometimes loved for those internal qualities through their being considered beautiful, just as the external form is loved. And sometimes this love becomes strong, and then it is called passion. How many there are of zealots in their love for the founders of parties, such as ash-Shāfi'ī and Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa (may God be well pleased with them!), to such an extent that they give bountifully of their lives and of their goods in their aid and assistance and go further than any passionate lover in their zeal and excess! A marvel it is that it should be held reasonable to love passionately an individual whose form has never been seen

[1] A tradition from the Prophet. He said, "No one shall enter the Garden in whose heart there is the weight of a grain of pride." Someone said, "A man loves that his robe and sandals should be beautiful"; and the Prophet replied in this saying.

whether it is lovely or vile and who is now dead, but who is loved for the loveliness of his internal form and for his approved walk and the benefits that have befallen the people of the Faith from his work and other qualities beside; and then that it should not be held reasonable to love passionately Him from whom are seen to proceed excellent things, yea, Him whom, in verity, there is no excellency and no loveliness and no loved one in the world but it is a boon from among His boons and a trace from among the traces of His generosity and a spoonful from the sea of His bounty. And every beauty and loveliness in the world which is perceived by the intellect and by eyes and by ears and the rest of the senses from the beginning of the world to its end and from the summit of the Pleiades to the extremity of the earth,[1] is a grain from the treasure-houses of His power and a ray from the lights of His presence. So who shall tell me that the love of Him is not reasonable whose description this is, and that love of Him should not increase in the case of those who confess His descriptions until their love pass bound and the absolute use of the term passion for it become a wrong because it falls short in telling how great is His love? Then His perfection is extolled who has veiled Himself from appearing by the force of His appearing and by the rays of whose light eyes are filled. "If it were not for His veiling Himself with seventy veils of His light, the glories of His face would burn up the eyes of those regarding the loveliness of His presence."[2] And if it were not that His appearance caused His concealment, verily intellects would be confused and hearts bewildered and strength of body would be left succourless and limbs at variance. Though hearts were built up of stone and iron, verily the morning would see them crushed in pieces under the first beginning of the light of His self-manifestation. For how shall the eyes of bats endure the noonday light of the sun?

And the proof of what is indicated here shall come in

[1] *Min dhirwati-th-thurayyū ilà muntahà-th-tharà*; a proverb.
[2] A tradition of the Prophet.

the Book of Love,[1] and it will be explained that the love of any other than God is a falling short and a folly. But he who is firm in knowledge knows none other than God Most High, since there is not in existence a verity except God and His works; and he who knows the works, as works, does not pass from the knowledge of the Worker to that of another than Him. For example, he that knows ash-Shāfi'ī, and knows him directly and his productions in respect that they are his productions, and not in respect that they are whiteness and skin and ink and paper and ordered speech and the Arabic language, verily, he has known him, and does not pass from the knowledge of ash-Shāfi'ī to that of another than him, and the love of him does not pass over to another than him. And every existence except God Most High is the production of God Most High and His work done first by Him. Then he who knows it in respect that it is the construction of God Most High, sees from the construction the qualities of the Constructor, as the excellency of the producer and the greatness of his power are seen from the beauty of the production, and his knowledge and love are limited to God Most High without passing over to other than Him. And it is of the definition of this passion that it does not admit of being shared; and everything except this passion admits of being shared, since to every beloved except this there can be imagined something like either in existence or in possibility; but for this loveliness there cannot be imagined a second either in possibility or in existence. Then, the name passion applied to other than Him is a pure metaphor, not a proper sense of the word, though he that has a lack, near in his lack to brute beasts, sometimes does not recognise in the expression passion anything but the seeking of sexual intercourse. And such a one as this is like a donkey-driver, with whom it is not fitting that one should use such terms as passion, union, longing, humane intercourse; yea, such expressions and ideas he leaves on

[1] One of the Books of the *Iḥyā*, the sixth of the fourth *Rub'*.

one side, just as brute beasts leave on one side narcissus and myrtle, and give themselves to dried clover and hay and fresh leafage. For the absolute use of these expressions is only possible in the case of God Most High, and that only whenever they are not suspected of a meaning which we must hold far from the holiness of God.

And power of imagination varies as power of understanding, so attention should be directed to the refinement that lies in such expressions as these; yea, it is a near possibility that there may spring from the mere listening to the qualities of God Most High, an overpowering ecstasy by which the aorta of the heart is broken. Abū Hurayra[1] has related from the Apostle that he made mention of a youth who was among the Banū Isrā'īl on a mountain. And he said to his mother, "Who created the heavens?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the earth?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the mountains?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Then who created the clouds?" She said, "God, whose are Might and Majesty." He said, "Lo, verily from God I hear a Mighty Thing!" And he cast himself from the mountain and was dashed in pieces. This is as though he heard something which indicated the Majesty of God Most High and the completing of His Power; so he was moved by emotion at that, and fell into an ecstasy, and through the ecstasy cast himself down. And the Books[2] have been revealed only in order that they should move with emotion at the mention of God Most High. Someone said, "I saw written in the Gospel, 'We have sung to you and ye have not been moved with emotion; and we have piped to you and ye have not danced.'"[3] That is, "We sought to rouse in you longing

[1] 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ṣakhr ad-Dawsī, known as Abū Hurayra; d. 57. An-Naw., pp. 760 f.; Ibn Khall., i, 570, n. 2.

[2] The different revealed Scriptures; e.g., the Law, the Gospel, the Psalms.

[3] Matt., xi, 17; Luke, vii, 32; a long way after. It is characteristic of Islām that the SM. makes no attempt to verify the reference.

by the mention of God Most High, but longing was not roused."

This, then, is what we desired to mention of the divisions of listening to Music and Singing and its causes and its requirements. It has become most certainly evident that it is permissible in some cases and encouraged in some cases. Then if you ask, "Is there any state in which it is unlawful?" I say that it is unlawful with five accidents—an accident in him who produces the poetry or music, an accident in the instrument that is used, an accident in the content of the poetry, an accident in the person of the listener or in his perseverance, and an accident that consists in his being of the commonalty of creation.

The first accident is that the producer of the poetry or music be a woman upon whom to look is not lawful and from listening to whom temptation is dreaded; included with her is also the beardless youth whose temptation is dreaded. This is unlawful on account of what is in it of the fear of temptation, and it is not on account of the singing, but if the woman, through whom rises the temptation, were only talking without using melodies, her talking and conversation would not be permissible nor even listening to her voice in repeating the Qur'ān; so, too, is it in the case of the youth from whom temptation is feared. Then if you ask, "Do you hold that this is unlawful in every situation without considering separate cases, or is it only unlawful where temptation is feared in the case of him who fears sin?" I say that this is a possible question in point of law, one in which two fundamental principles act against one another. The one of these is that being alone with a woman not within the prohibited degrees and looking upon her face is unlawful equally whether temptation is feared or not, because she is one with whom, in general, temptation may be supposed to exist. The law has decided that this shall close the matter without looking to special cases. And the second principle is that looking upon youths is permissible except where there is fear of temptation; so youths are not classed with women in this general prohibition, but the circumstances are

followed in each case. Now, the voice of a woman sways between these two fundamental principles; if we follow the analogy of looking at her, then we must close the matter absolutely,—that is an analogy that has great weight. Yet between the two are differences, since lust invites to look when it is once roused, but it does not invite to listen to the voice; and the moving of the lust to touch which is excited by looking is not the same as that which is excited by hearing, but is more powerful. And the voice of a woman, apart from singing, is not a thing of shame requiring concealment; in the time of the Companions the women always talked with the men, giving the salutation and seeking advice and asking and taking counsel and so on,—but with women there is a something more which effects the moving of lust. So the analogy of the voice of women to looking upon youths is more immediate, for they were not commanded to veil themselves, just as women were not commanded to conceal their voices. Thus the arousing of temptation is the rule which ought to be followed, and the unlawfulness should be limited to that. This, in my opinion, is the more probable view and the nearer analogy, and is strengthened by the tradition of the two girls who sang in the house of 'Ā'isha, since it is known that the Prophet was wont to listen to their voices and did not guard himself; temptation in this case was not to be feared and therefore he did not guard himself. So, then, this varies with the circumstances of the woman and the circumstances of the man in being young or old; and such a varying with circumstances has its analogies, for we say in the case of an old man that he may kiss his wife, though it be time of fast, but that that is not allowable for a young man; for kissing invites to sexual intercourse in time of fast, which is forbidden. And hearing[1] may invite to looking and drawing near which is unlawful; so that, too, varies with individuals.

[1] Hearing = *as-samā'*. I have translated this word hitherto as 'listening to music and singing.' Literally it means 'hearing' or 'listening,' but it became a Ṣūfī technical term for the devotional exercises of darwīshes. In the sequel I shall frequently translate it as here, regarding it as such a technical term.

The second attribute is in the instruments in so far as they are of the badges of people who drink and of the *Mukhannaths*. They are pipes and stringed instruments and the *kūba*-drum. These three kinds are forbidden, and all besides these remain under the fundamental principle of allowableness, like the *duff* whether it has little bells or not, and the *ṭabl* and the *shāhīn* and beating with the *qaḍīb* and the other instruments.

The third accident is in the content of what is sung, the poetry. If there is in it anything of obscenity or ribaldry or satire or what is a lie against God Most High or against His Apostle or against the Companions, like what the Rāfiḍīs[1] composed in satire on the Companions and others, the listening to it is unlawful, with melodies or without melodies, and he that listens is partaker with him that speaks. So, too, is that in which there is description of a particular woman; for the description of a woman before men is not allowable. And as for satire of unbelievers and heretics, that is allowable; Ḥassān b. Thābit was wont to boast of the Apostle of God and to satirize the unbelievers, and the Apostle of God commanded him to do that. And as for amatory poetry, i.e. love poetry with description of cheeks and temples and beauty of figure and stature and description of women in other points, it calls for consideration. The sound view with regard to it is that the composing of it and the reciting it with melody and without, is not unlawful. But it is for the listener to see to it that he does not apply what he hears to a particular woman, and if he does apply it that he apply it to one permitted

[1] It was early fixed as a principle that the handing down of traditions derogatory to the Prophet or to the Companions was unlawful. Thus an-Nasafī lays down in his creed: "We abstain from the mention of the Companions of the Prophet except with good." The name Rāfiḍīs came to be applied to all schismatics who spoke against any of the Companions, but historically it has a narrower application. They were a sect of the Shī'a of al-Kūfa who abandoned Zayd b. 'Alī, a descendant of 'Alī the fourth Khalīfa—after having belonged to his party the Zaydites—because he commanded them not to speak against the two first Khalīfas, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1,121*a*; *Thousand and One Nights*, ii, pp. 233 and 265, and notes 33 and 90 (Story of 'Alā ad-Dīn Abū-sh-Shāmāt, Nights 255 and 265), Haarbrücker's translation of ash-Shāhrastānī, i, pp. 176 and 180.

to him, his wife or slave-girl, for if he apply it to a strange woman then he is a rebel against God by thus applying it, and by his causing his thought to circle in it. He to whom this description applies ought to put aside music and singing absolutely. For he over whom a passion has gained control applies all he hears to that passion, equally if the expression suits it or not; for what expression is there that cannot be applied to ideas by means of metaphorical usage? So he over whose heart the love of God has control is reminded by the blackness of the hair on the temples of a like thing, the darkness of unbelief, and by the brightness of the cheek, of the light of Faith, and by the mention of union, of the meeting God Most High, and by the mention of parting, of the separation from God Most High in the company of the rejected, and by the mention of the censurer who disturbs the gladness of union, of the obstacles of the world and its defects that disturb the endurance of intercourse with God Most High. And in this application there is no need of search or meditation or leisure; yea, the thoughts which control the heart weigh more than the expression in the understanding of what is heard.[1] So it is related from one of the Shaykhs that he passed through the market and heard one saying, "The good ones ten for a grain[2]!" then ecstasy overcame him. And he was asked about that, and said, "When the good are ten for a grain, then what is the value of the evil?" And one of them crossed in the market and heard a speaker saying, "O wild thyme!" [*Yā sa'taru barrī*]; then ecstasy overcame him. And they said to him, "For what is thy ecstasy?" He said, "I heard him as though he were saying, 'Persevere and thou wilt see my benevolence!'" [*Isa' tara birrī*]. And this goes so far that ecstasy sometimes overcomes a Persian at verses in Arabic, for some Arabic words correspond to Persian words; so he understands from them another meaning. One recited—

[1] Literally, *arrive first at understanding what is heard in spite of the expression.*
[2] The weight of a grain of barley; apparently a fraction of a dirham.

"And there has not visited me [*wamā zāranī*] in slumber aught but his phantom-form."[1]

Then a Persian was seized with ecstasy at that, and he was asked the cause of his ecstasy, and he said, "Lo, he said in Persian *Mā zārīm*, 'We are all coming nigh to destruction.'" For the expression *zār* indicates in Persian *are coming nigh to destruction*, so he fancied that he was saying "We are all coming nigh to destruction," and feared thereby the peril of the destruction of the other world.

And the ecstasy of him who is consumed in love of God Most High is in proportion to his understanding, and his understanding is in proportion to his power of imagination, and what he imagines does not necessarily agree with what the poet meant or with his language. This ecstasy is truth and sincerity; and he who fears the peril of the destruction of the other world is fitted that his intellect should be disturbed in him and his limbs agitated, and then there is no great advantage in changing the expressions themselves. Yet he whom love of a created thing has overcome ought to guard himself against music and singing with whatever expression they come, but him whom the love of God Most High has overcome, the verbal expressions do not trouble and do not hinder from understanding the benignant ideas that join themselves with the flow of his exalted aspiration.

The fourth accident is in the listener, and consists in lust having control over him. If he is in the glow of youth, and this quality have more control over him than any other, then music and singing are unlawful to him equally whether the love of a particular individual have control of his heart or not. For however that may be, he cannot hear a description of temples and cheeks and separation and union but it moves his lust, and he applies what he hears to a particular form, the Devil puffing at the lust in his heart, and so the flame of lust is kindled in him and the arousers

[1] On the *Tayf al-Khayāl*, the form of the beloved seen in dreams, see an article by de Slane in the Journ. As., sér. III, v, 376 ff.

of evil incite him. And it is a help to the party of the Devil and a cause of cowardice to Reason which defends him and which is the party of God Most High. The fighting is constant in the heart between the forces of the Devil—they are the lusts—and the party of God Most High—it is the light of Reason—except in a heart which one of the two parties has conquered and over which it rules completely. The army of the Devil conquers most hearts and overcomes them; so, therefore, there is need that inciters of fighting should keep beginning afresh to harass the forces of the Devil. How, then, is the increasing of the weapons of these forces and the sharpening of their swords and spears allowable? And music and singing sharpen the weapons of the army of the Devil in the case of such an individual as this; so let such go out from the assembly where music and singing are heard, for he is hurt by them.

The fifth accident is that the individual should be of the commonalty of creation.[1] Given that the love of God Most High does not control him; further, that music and singing are beloved to him, and that no lust controls him; yet in his case it is prohibited. But, just as the other kinds of permitted pleasures, it would be permitted in his case except that, when custom and habit of it take hold of him, and however numerous its occasions, they are yet too few for him, then he is one of the foolish whose testimony is to be rejected; for persistence in sport is a sin. And just as a little sin by persistence and continuance becomes a great sin, so some permitted things by continuance become little sins; and this case is like perseverance in following negroes and Abyssinians, and constant watching of their playing, for that is prohibited, although its beginning is not prohibited, since the Apostle of God did it. To this class belongs playing at chess, for it is permitted; yet perseverance in it is disliked with the strongest dislike. And whenever the object is play and taking pleasure in

[1] By *'awāmm al-khalq* he means all mankind but those who have intercourse with and knowledge of God in ecstasy, whether they be ignorant or philosophers or theologians.

sport, then it is permitted only on account of what is in it quieting to the heart; since quiet of the heart at certain times is a medicinal treatment, so that the impulses of the heart may be aroused, and then it may busy itself at other times in diligent application to worldly things, as gain and trade, or to religion, as prayer and recitation of the Qur'ān. And regarding that as a good thing to come between periods of application is like regarding a black mole on the cheek as beautiful. But if the moles were to take possession of the whole face, as a curse on it, how ugly that would be! So beauty becomes ugliness on account of abundance, and it is not every beauty much of which is beautiful, nor every permissible thing much of which is permissible. Bread is permissible, but seeking much of it is unlawful. So this permissible thing is like the other permissible things.

But if you say, "What all this comes to is that it is permissible under some circumstances and not under others; so why did you first make it absolutely permissible when such a statement, when it comes to distinguishing cases with yes or no, is false and faulty?" Then know that this objection is mistaken; for the laying down such an absolute statement stands in the way only of such a stating of special cases as begins from the entity of the thing which is being considered; but as for that which begins from the circumstances which came as accidents joined to it externally, the absolute statement does not prevent that. Do you not see that we, when we are asked concerning honey whether it is lawful or not, say that it is lawful in the absolute, though it is unlawful for one who is of a sanguine temperament, to whom it is hurtful? And when we are asked concerning wine we say that it is unlawful, although it is lawful for him to drink it who is choking with a morsel whenever he cannot find anything else. But it, in respect that it is wine, is unlawful, and is only permissible on account of the accident of the need; and honey, in respect that it is honey, is lawful, and is only unlawful on account of the accident of hurtfulness. And

no attention is paid to what belongs to an accident, for selling is lawful, but becomes unlawful through the accident of its happening at the time of the summons to prayer on Friday; and there are many accidents such as that. Then music and singing belong to the class of things permissible in respect that they are listening to an agreeable measured voice with a meaning to be understood, and their being unlawful is only on account of an accident external to their true entity. So, when the veil is withdrawn from what shows the permissibility, no attention need be paid to him who opposes after the indication is plain.

And as for ash-Shāfi'ī, his school does not pronounce singing unlawful as a fundamental principle. Ash-Shāfi'ī laid down a rule, and said of the man who takes up singing as a profession that his evidence is not allowable. And that is because it belongs to sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain; and he who takes it up as a profession is put in a relationship to folly, and his manly virtue [*murū'a*] falls from him, and, although it is not an unlawful thing in itself, yet its being unlawful under these circumstances is clear. But if he does not put himself into a relationship to singing, and people do not come to him on account of that, and he does not go to people for its sake, and all that is known of him is that he is sometimes in a state of emotion and chants in it, then that does not make his manly virtue fall away or render worthless his evidence. That is shown by the tradition of the two girls who were singing in the house of 'Ā'isha.

And Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'là[1] said, "I asked ash-Shāfi'ī about the people of al-Madīna permitting music and singing. Then ash-Shāfi'ī said, 'I do not know one of the learned of the Ḥijāz who disliked music and singing except what consisted in amatory descriptions; as for the driving-song and the mention of the traces of the encampment and of the spring pastures[2] and the making beautiful the voice in singing poems, it is permitted.'" And when ash-Shāfi'ī says that it is a sport which is disliked and which resembles what is vain, then his saying 'sport' [*lahw*] is right, but sport, in respect that it is sport, is not unlawful; the play of the Abyssinians and their dancing is sport, yet the Prophet was wont to look at it sometimes and did not dislike it. And sport and nonsense [*laghw*] God Most High does not blame if by it is meant doing that in which there is no advantage; for if a man lay upon himself that he will place his hand upon his head one hundred times a day, that is trifling with no advantage in it, yet it is not unlawful; God Most High said, *God does not blame you for nonsense in your oaths* [Qur., ii, 225; v, 91]. And when God does not blame for the mention of His name to a thing by way of oath without being pledged to it and without being determined to keep it, rather being variable as to it, along with there being no advantage in it, how shall He blame poetry and dancing? And as for his saying that it resembles what is vain [*bāṭil*], that does not indicate a belief that it is unlawful; even if he had said explicitly that it was vain, that would not have indicated that it was unlawful. It only indicates that it is destitute of advantage; what is vain is that in which there is no advantage. If a man says to his wife, for example, "I sell myself to you," and she says, "I buy," it is a vain bargain whenever the object is play and jesting, and it is not unlawful except when the object is really making a slave of him, which the law forbids. And as for his saying "disliked" [*makrūh*], he means that it is disliked on some of the occasions which I have mentioned to thee, or else he means that it is disliked through fear of evil. For he has laid down a rule as to the allowableness of playing at chess, and has remarked, "Verily, I dislike every play." The explanation he gives indicates this; for he says, "It is not one of the customs of religious people and people of manly virtue." This points to fear of evil. And his rejecting evidence for persistence in play does not indicate that it is unlawful; he sometimes rejects evidence for eating in the market-place and for what in general violates manly virtue

[1] Abū Mūsà Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'là aṣ-Ṣafadī al-Miṣrī; d. 264. An-Naw., pp. 641 f.; Ibn Khall., iv, pp. 591 f.

[2] Referring to the descriptions with which innumerable *qasīdas* open.

[*murū'a*]. Thus, weaving is allowable; yet it is not of the occupations of those who possess manly virtue. And sometimes he rejects the evidence of those who pursue an ignoble trade, and his explanation shows that he meant by dislike fear of evil.[1]

This is the view also of others besides him of the great Imāms. So if people desire to make it unlawful, what we have said above is an argument against them.

3.

A statement of the Arguments of those who pronounce Music and Singing unlawful, and an Answer to them.

They base an argument upon what God Most High says, *And of mankind there are some who buy sport consisting of stories* [*in order to lead astray from the path of God*].[2] Ibn Mas'ūd[3] and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[4] and an-Nakha'ī[5] said that "sport consisting of stories" was singing. And 'Ā'isha handed down that the Prophet said, "Verily, God hath made the singing-girl unlawful and the selling of her and her price and teaching her." To this we say, As to the

[1] The SM. gives, as examples, cupping and the clearing away of ash-heaps. On the Oriental attitude towards cupping, see Spitta's *Al-Aš'arī*, pp. 29 f. In the *Tanbīh* of Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī, a Shāfi'ite manual of law, pp. 336 f. of ed. of Juynboll, there is a statement of those whose testimony must be rejected. These included slaves, youths, deranged persons, heedless persons or simpletons (*mughaffal*), those who have no manly virtue (*murū'a*), such as scavengers, rag-gatherers, sweepers, bathmen, those who play in the bath and singers, dancers, jugglers, those who eat in the streets and make water in public and play at chess on the highway. As to pursuers of base occupations (*makāsib daniya*), such as watchmen, weavers, cuppers, there are two views, one that their testimony is to be rejected, the other and better that it may be received if their religious walk is right. See, too, the *Minhāj aṭ-ṭālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, iii, pp. 400 ff. On improper use of the public streets, compare Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, p. 111, who explains that these are the places of prayer of the Jinn.

[2] Qur'ān, xxxi, 5. I have added the necessary context in square brackets.

[3] Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ghāfil al-Hudhalī al-Kūfī; d. 32. Ibn Qut., p. 128; an-Naw., pp. 369 ff.

[4] Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Abī-l-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, d. 110. An-Naw., pp. 209 ff.; Ibn Khall., i, 370 ff.

[5] Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd an-Nakha'ī; see note 4 on p. 202.

singing-girl, what is meant by her is the slave-girl who sings to men in a place where there is drinking; and we have mentioned that the singing of a strange woman to men of dissolute life and to those for whom temptation is feared is unlawful; such seek from the singing-girl only what is legally forbidden. But as for the singing of a slave-girl to her possessor, its unlawfulness cannot be gathered from this tradition. Further, even to any other than her possessor, listening is lawful when there is absence of temptation according to what is indicated by the tradition in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of the singing of the two slave-girls in the house of 'Ā'isha. And as for the buying of "sport consisting of stories" for religion, by way of exchange for it, "to lead astray" by it "from the path of God," that is unlawful and blameworthy and the question is not as to it. Every singing is not an exchange for religion, bought for it, and a thing leading astray from the path of God Most High, and that is what is meant in the passage. If anyone read the Qur'ān "to lead astray thereby from the path of God," his so reading the Qur'ān would be unlawful. It is related of one of the Hypocrites that he used to act as Imām to the people, and would only recite the Sūra *'Abasa*[1] on account of the rebuke of the Apostle of God which it contains. And 'Umar thought of killing him, and regarded his action as unlawful on account of the leading astray which is in it; then is the leading astray by poetry and singing to be regarded as more unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on what God Most High says, *And at this narrative do ye not marvel? but ye laugh and do not weep and ye are lifters up* (sāmidūn).[2] Ibn 'Abbās[3] said, "It is singing in the language of Ḥimyar," meaning the "lifting up." To that we say, Laughter and

[1] Sūra lxxx of the Qur'ān. It begins *'Abasa wa-tawallà*, "he frowned and turned away," said of the Prophet repelling a blind man. For that he is rebuked by God in the Sūra, and this Hypocrite—the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*, Ibn Qut., p. 174) played much the same part in Medina as the Libertines in the Geneva of Calvin—chose thus to keep alive the memory of the rebuke.

[2] Qur'ān, liii, 59; see Bayd., ii, 296, l. 14; and Lane, p. 1,424*b*.

[3] Abū-l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abdi-l-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim; d. 68. An-Naw., pp. 351 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 58 f.

lack of weeping ought to be unlawful too, since the passage embraces them. And if it be said that it is limited to laughter against the Muslims for their becoming Muslims, then this also is limited to their making poems and singing with the object of ridiculing the Muslims. Even as He Most High has said, *And the poets—those going astray follow them* [Qur., xxvi, 224]; He meant by that the poets of the unbelievers; it does not indicate that the composition of poetry is unlawful in itself.

Further, they base an argument on what Jābir[1] has handed down that the Prophet said, "Iblīs was the first who wailed and the first who sang." So he joined wailing and singing. Then we say, Verily, just as the wailing of Dā'ūd and the wailing of sinners for their crimes are excepted, so is excepted that singing which seeks the moving of joy and sorrow and longing where it is allowable that it should be moved. It is excepted just as the singing of the two slave-girls on the Festival day in the house of the Apostle of God was excepted, and the singing of the women who sang at his arrival, when they said—

"The full moon has risen upon us, from the passes of al-Wadā'."

Further, they base an argument on what Abū Umāma[2] has handed down from the Prophet that he said, "No one lifts up his voice in singing but God sends to him two devils on his two shoulders, beating with their heels on his breast until he refrains." We say, This applies to some of the kinds of singing which we have already brought forward; there are those which excite from the heart that which is the desire of the Devil, consisting of lust and passion [*'ishq*] for creatures. But as for what excites longing towards God and joy in Festival time, and at the birth of a child or the arrival of him who has been

[1] Abū 'Abd Allāh (or Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān or Abū Muḥammad) Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī as-Salamī al-Madanī; d. 68 or 73 or 78. An-Naw., pp. 184 ff.; Ibn Qut., pp. 156 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 204, n. 1.

[2] Abū Umāma Ṣudday b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī; d. 81 or 86. Ibn Qut., p. 157; an-Naw., pp. 651 f.

absent, all that is the opposite of what is the desire of the Devil, as is indicated by the story of the two slave-girls and the Abyssinians and the narratives which we took from the *Ṣaḥīḥs*. So the fact that it was permitted on a single occasion is a statute that it is allowable; and that it was prevented on a thousand occasions is subject to interpretation and explanation; but the actual doing of a thing cannot be interpreted away, since when a thing is unlawful it can only become lawful through the accident of compulsion, and if it is allowable it is made unlawful by a great number of accidents up to intentions and objects.

Further, they base an argument on what 'Uqba b. 'Āmir[1] handed down that the Prophet said, "Everything with which a man sports is vain except his training his horse and shooting with his bow and playing with his wife." We say, His saying "vain" does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates the lack in it of advantage. And sometimes that is conceded on the ground that the having part in sport in watching the Abyssinians came outside of these three and yet is not unlawful; so things not excepted are joined to things excepted on analogy, just as the Prophet said, "The blood of a Muslim is not lawful save for one of three things," yet he joined with them a fourth and a fifth.[2] Like this, too, is the playing with one's wife; there is no advantage in it, only the pleasure. And it shows that amusing oneself in gardens and listening to the voices of birds and to the different kinds of jesting, of that wherewith a man sports, nothing of that is unlawful although it may be possible to describe it as vain.

Further, they base an argument on the saying of 'Uthmān, "I have not sung, and I have not lied, and I have not wiped my penis with my right hand since I did homage

[1] 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī; d. 58. An-Naw., pp. 425 f.

[2] The three are adultery, murder, and relapse after embracing Islām; see the tradition in al-Bukhārī, vol. viii, p. 36 of ed. of Cairo, 1296, and in the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah, p. 185 of lithog. of Dehli, 1889. I do not know what is referred to under the fourth and fifth.

with it to the Apostle of God."[1] We say, Then let the lying and the wiping the penis with the right hand be unlawful if this is an indication that singing is unlawful! When was it established that 'Uthmān abandoned only what is unlawful?

Further, they base an argument on the saying of Ibn Mas'ūd, "Singing makes Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart," and some add, "just as water makes herbs spring up"; some even carry it back to the Apostle of God, but that form of the tradition is not sound. They say, "There passed by Ibn 'Umar[2] some people wearing the *Iḥrām*,[3] and among them was a man singing. Then he said, 'Ho, I do not hear God from you; ho, I do not hear God from you!'" And from Nāfi'[4] is handed down that he said, "I was with Ibn 'Umar on the road and I heard the flute-playing of a shepherd, and he put his fingers in his ears, then turned from the road, and did not cease saying, 'Nāfi', do you hear it?' till I said 'No'; then he took his fingers out and said, 'Thus I saw the Apostle of God do.'" And al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ[5] said, "Singing is the spell which raises fornication." And one of them said, "Singing is one of the scouts of depravity." And Yazīd b. al-Walīd[6] said, "Beware ye of singing, for it maketh modesty to be lacking

[1] For this saying of 'Uthmān see *Lisān*, s.v., xx, p. 164, ll. 7 ff. from foot. On the attitude of Muslims towards lying, allowed and unallowed, see *Ihyā*, vol. vii, pp. 522 ff. The statement there begins, "Lying is not forbidden (*ḥarām*) on account of itself (*linafsihi*), but on account of detriment in it to the person addressed or any other." Compare, too, the doctrine of Intention, *nīya*, in *Iḥyā*, vol. x, pp. 72 ff. Similarly, to use the right hand for certain purposes would be bad manners, but could not be called *ḥarām*.

[2] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had two sons who are referred to in tradition, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh. This, according to the SM., is 'Abd Allāh, who d. in 73. An-Naw., pp. 357 ff.; Ibn Qut., p. 92; Ibn Khall., i, p. 567, note.

[3] *Iḥrām* is the prescribed dress worn by a pilgrim and also his state while wearing it. It is put on at the last stage before reaching Mecca, and laid aside after the tenth day, the day of sacrifice.

[4] Abū 'Abd Allāh Nāfi' was a mawlà of Ibn 'Umar, and d. 117. Ibn Qut., pp. 95 and 234; Ibn Khall., iii, pp. 521 f.; an-Naw., pp. 589 f. The tradition here related is an important and much debated one in several legal respects.

[5] Abū 'Alī al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ at-Tamīmī al-Yarbū'ī; d. 187. An-Naw., pp. 503 f.; Ibn Khall., ii, 478 ff.; the extract from al-Biqā'ī's *Aswāq al-ashwāq* in Derenbourg et Spiro, *Chrestomathie élémentaire*, pp. 33 ff.; al-Qush., p. 11.

[6] Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān, the 12th Umayyad Khalīfa; d. 126. Ibn Qut., p. 186.

and increaseth lust and ruineth manly virtue; and verily it takes the place of wine and does what drunkenness does; then if ye cannot avoid having to do with it, keep it out of the way of women, for singing incites to fornication." But we say, When Ibn Mas'ūd says that it makes Hypocrisy grow up, he means by that in the case of the singer; in his case it makes Hypocrisy grow up, for his whole desire is to show himself to advantage in competition with others, and to make his voice sell well in such competition, and he keeps playing the hypocrite and making himself beloved by people that they may desire his singing. But even that does not involve that singing must be declared unlawful. For the wearing of beautiful clothes and the riding of ambling horses and the other kinds of adornment and emulative glorying in wealth and pleasant things and children and so on make Hypocrisy and dissimulation spring up in the heart; but what Ibn Mas'ūd said does not go so far as to make these unlawful. So it is not only acts of rebellion against God which cause Hypocrisy to spring up in the heart; yea, such permitted things as these on which the gaze of the people falls are still better fitted to procure it. And therefore 'Umar alighted from a horse which ambled under him and cut off its tail, because he feared in himself vainglory in the beauty of its gait. Thus the beginning of Hypocrisy is in permitted things.

And as for the saying of Ibn 'Umar, "Ho, I do not hear God from you!" it does not indicate that singing is unlawful in respect that it is singing; but they were in *Iḥrām* and loose talk did not befit them, and it appeared to him from their signs that their listening was not for the sake of ecstasy and longing unto the visitation of the House of God Most High, but for pure sport. So he disliked that in them, because it was objectionable in connection with their state and the state of *Iḥrām*. Again, in the stories of particular cases, the possible views are many. For example, opposed to his putting his fingers in his ears is the fact that he did not command Nāfi' to do the like and did not disapprove of his listening. He only did it

himself because he considered that he should guard his ear in its then condition, and his heart from a sound which usually would move sport, and so might hinder him from a thought he was engaged in or a recollection that was more in place. And so, too, the action of the Apostle of God, along with the fact that he did not hinder Ibn ʻUmar from listening, does not indicate that it is unlawful, but indicates that the more fitting course is abandoning it. And we hold that abandoning it is more fitting in most cases; yea, that the abandoning of most of the allowable things of the world is more fitting when it is known that they make an effect on the heart. The Apostle of God actually stripped off the robe of Abū Jahm[1] after the completion of prayer because there was a pattern upon it which distracted his heart. But do you think that that indicates the unlawfulness of a pattern upon a robe? Perhaps the Prophet was in a state from which the sound of the flute of the shepherd would have distracted him as the pattern distracted him from prayer. Yea, the need of arousing the Glorious States in the heart by music and singing is a falling short in the case of him who is constant in his witnessing the Truth, though it may be perfection in the case of others than such a one. And therefore al-Ḥuṣrī[2] said, "Even the most affecting of Music and Singing (Hearing) is cut off when he dies who is listening to it"; thus pointing out the fact that the Hearing which is from God Most High is abiding. And the Prophets had constantly the pleasure of Hearing and Witnessing,[3] and had no need to have them aroused by devices. As for the saying of al-Fuḍayl, and similarly all the other sayings kin to it, it is applicable to the music and singing of dissolute people and lustful youths; and if these sayings were

[1] Abū Jahm ʻÂmir (or ʻUbayd) b. Ḥudhayfa al-Qurashī al-ʻAdawī; d. in the days of az-Zubayr or of Muʻāwiya. An-Naw., pp. 686 f., and al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-libās*, part vii, p. 39.

[2] Abū-l-Ḥasan ʻAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Baṣrī; d. 371. Al-Qush., p. 38; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 371.

[3] See note in Life, p. 94.

generally valid, wherefore did they listen to the two slave-girls in the house of the Apostle of God?

Then, as for analogy, the utmost of what can be said as to it is that the analogy lies against stringed instruments, and the differences have already been given. Or it is said that Music and Singing are sport and play, and so they are, but the whole of this world is *sport and play* [Qur., xxix, 64]. ʻUmar said to his wife, "Thou art only a plaything in the corner of the house." And all playing with women is sport except tillage, which is the cause of the existence of children. "And all jesting in which there is nothing vile is lawful." That is quoted from the Apostle of God and the Companions, as shall come in detail in the Book of the Defects of the Tongue,[1] if God will; and what sport could exceed the sport of the Abyssinians and negroes in their playing? Its allowableness stands firm by statute on the basis of what I said, that sport rests the heart and lightens from it the burden of thinking; and when hearts are over-driven they are blind, and resting strengthens them for serious work. So he, for example, who is persistent in study ought to cease work on Friday, for ceasing work on one day incites alertness on the other days. And he who is persistent in works of supererogation in prayer on most occasions, ought to be idle on some occasions; and, on his account, prayer on some occasions is disliked. So idleness is a help to work, and sport an aid to seriousness; only the souls of the Prophets can endure against pure seriousness and bitter duty. Sport is the medicine of the heart against the disease of weariness and restlessness; so it ought to be permitted. But there ought not to be too much of it, just as there ought not to be too much medicine. Then, whenever sport is for this object, it becomes a pious work. This is even in the case of one in whose heart music and singing do not rouse a praiseworthy quality—the rousing of which is sought—but the hearer has only pleasure and simple rest. So it is fitting that

[1] A Book of the *Iḥyā*; the fourth of the third *Rubʻ*.

that be approved in him that he may attain by it to the goal which we have mentioned. It is true that this indicates a falling short from the summit of perfection, for the perfect man is he who has no need that his soul should be rested in other than duty, but "the good deeds of the pious are the evil deeds of archangels,"[1] and he who has mastered the science of dealing with hearts and the different ways of being kind to them to lead them to the Truth, knows absolutely that resting them with such things as these is a useful medicine that cannot be done without.

[1] The SM. ascribes this saying to Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī, who d. 293 or 283 or 273. Al-Qush., p. 18; Ibn Khall., i, pp. 602, 590.

(To be continued.)

Revival of Religious Sciences

(Ihya' Ulum ad-Din)

On Music & Singing

Emotional Religion in Islam as affected by Music and Singing being a translation of the Ihya 'Ulm ad-Din of al-Ghazzali with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices.

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II.

The Second Chapter, treating of the Effects of Music and Singing, and the Laws of Polite Conduct connected therewith.

Know that the first step in Hearing is understanding what is heard, and applying it to an idea which occurs to the hearer. Then this understanding has as fruit ecstasy, and ecstasy moving of the members. Let there be a consideration, then, of these three stages.

The First Stage, treating of Understanding.

It varies as the conditions of the hearer vary. The first of these is that his hearing consists in receiving the simple physical impression, that is, he has no satisfaction in what he hears apart from the pleasure taken in the melodies and tones. This is allowable, and is the lowest of the orders of hearing, since camels are partakers with him in it. And so, too, are all beasts, for this taste requires for itself life only, and every animal has a kind of pleasure in agreeable sounds. The second condition is that he hears with understanding, but applies what he hears to the form of a creature, either to a special individual or not. This

is how youths and the lustful hear, and their application of the things heard is in proportion to their lusts and in accordance with their states. This condition is too low for us to speak of it, except to explain its lowness and that it is forbidden. The third condition is that he should apply what he hears to the states of his own soul in his Intercourse[1] with God Most High, and to the changing of his states, consisting of possibility one time and of impossibility another time. This is the Hearing of the Murīds, especially of such as are beginners, for the Murīd [i.e. the wisher, desirer] of necessity has a thing desired which is his object, and his object is the experiential knowledge of God (who is exalted above all imperfection), and meeting Him, and arriving at Him by the path of Witnessing that which is secret, and of uplifting the veil. In his object he has a Path which he pursues, and Intercourse in which he perseveres, and states which encounter him in his Intercourse. Then whenever he hears mention of chiding, or exhortation, or acceptance, or rejection, or union, or departure, or drawing near, or being distant, or bemoaning that which has escaped, or thirsting for that which is expected, or longing for that which arrives, or coveting, or despairing, or solitude, or seeking society, or accomplishing of a promise, or breaking of a covenant, or fear of separation, or rejoicing in close union, or mention of attention to the beloved and rejection of the watcher, or the pouring forth of tears, or the close following one another of sobs, or length of separation, or promise of close union, or anything besides of that of which poems contain the description, then, without fail, some of this must agree with the state of the Murīd in his seeking, and that will act the part of a tinder-box which will light the fuel of his heart. Then its flames blaze up in him, and longing is strongly excited, and there assault him, because of it, states to which he is not

[1] I so translate *mu'āmala*, 'transaction' or 'transacting.' The word in the plural is applied to one of the divisions of law (*shar'*), and denotes then such duties as enter between men in the various sections of jurisprudence, e.g., sale, loan, partnership, claims of all kinds, etc. For the mystical sense, compare the title of al-Ghazzālī's collection of poems, *Asrār al-mu'āmalāt*.

accustomed, and he has broad scope in applying the expressions to his states. And it is not incumbent on the hearer that he should consider what the poet intended in his words. For every saying has different aspects, and every man of understanding (in getting its meaning from it[1]) has his own fortune.

Let us give some examples of this applying and understanding, in order that the foolish may not fancy that the listener to verses, in which there is mention of mouth and cheeks and temples, understands by them only their outward meaning. We have no need to tell how the meaning is gained from the verses; in the stories of the People of Hearing there is enough to reveal that. It is narrated that one of them heard someone saying—

"The messenger said, 'To-morrow he will visit'; then
said I, 'Doest thou know what thou hast said?'"

Then the melody and words excited him, and he constrained himself to an ecstasy, and began repeating it, putting 'we' in the place of 'he,' and saying, "The messenger said, 'To-morrow we shall visit,'" until he fainted from the force of the joy and pleasure and gladness. And when he recovered they asked him about his ecstasy, whence it was. Then he said, "I remembered the saying of the Apostle of God that the people of the Garden shall visit their Lord every Friday, once."

[1] This a *locus classicus* on the mystical use of poetry. It should be noticed how absolute is the position laid down; the interpretation may be purely subjective. We have not here the question of the second meaning or of allegory as it is understood in Western literature; there may be any number of interpretations, according to the number of the listeners, all alike undreamt of by the poet. We shall see hereafter how such treatment of the Qur'ān is disliked. It is the word of God, and may only be applied with the meaning which God gave it, and is thus sharply distinguished from human words. Poetry, then, is treated as music is with us; it is vague, indefinite, suggestive of emotions, not of things. This is easy in Arabic. As has been well said, "Place, time, and circumstance give the Arab song its meaning." In the same sense Hoffmann in *Der Majorat* (ed. Reclam, pp. 28 ff.) said, "Ein Geheimnissvoller Zauber liegt in den unbedeutenden Worten des Textes, der zur Hieroglyphe des Unausprechlichen wird, von dem unsere Brust erfüllt." Compare, too, an interesting passage by the same writer in his *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr*, ed. Reclam, ii, pp. 197 f.; and MacLaurel's remarks on poetry and music in Peacocke's *Headlong Hall*, chap. xiii.

And ar-Raqqī narrated from Ibn ad-Darrāj [1] that he said: "I and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [2] were passing along the Tigris, between al-Baṣra and al-Ubulla, and lo, there was a beautiful house with a raised veranda, upon which was a man with a slave-girl before him, and she was singing—

'[Dedicate to God is a love which is given freely from
me to thee.]
Every day thou changest; other conduct than this would
be more comely in thee.
[Doest thou not see life waning and the messenger of death
drawing near?]' [3]

And lo, under the veranda was a beautiful youth with a leather drinking-cup in his hand and a patched gown on, listening. And he said, 'O slave-girl, by Allah, and by the life of thy master, repeat that verse, "Every day thou changest"!' Then she repeated it, and the youth kept saying, 'This, by Allah, is my changing in my state with the Truth!' And he sobbed a sob and died. Then we said, 'A duty has encountered us.' So we stood, and the master of the house said to the slave-girl, 'Thou art free for the sake of the Face of God Most High.' [4] Then the people of al-Baṣra came out and prayed over the youth, and when they had finished burying him, the master of the house said, 'I call you to witness that everything which belongs to me is dedicate to God, and all my slave-girls are

[1] Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Darrāj b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī, nazīl Baghdad. He is mentioned several times in the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī.

[2] I cannot identify this Ibn al-Fuwaṭī. In Flügel's *Hanefiten*, p. 43, No. 170, there is an Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quoted through adh-Dhahabī. The name occurs in adh-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, pp. 410, 422, but with no reference that suits. Are we to read al-Qūṭī and refer to Sulaymān b. Ayyūb al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī, a mystic of eminence who died 377? Al-Fuwaṭī means a dealer in towels and napkins.

[3] Compare al-Qushayrī, p. 204. I have added from that source the parts of the song in square brackets. For an instance of death due to religious excitement on hearing a poem recited, see Ibn Khall., i, pp. 292 ff. This case fell in Ibn Khallikān's own experience, and the verses have on their face no religious meaning or intention. Ath-Tha'labī wrote a book on those who died with emotion when they heard the Qur'ān read; Leyden Cat., No. 1979, Ḥkh. No. 3932.

[4] That he may see the face of God in Paradise as a reward.

free, and this house is dedicate.' Then he cast off his clothes and girt himself with a tunic [*izār*] and put on another as a cloak [*ridā*] [1] and went his way, and the people were gazing at him until he vanished in the distance from their eyes while they were weeping, and there was nothing heard of him again." And the purport is that this man considered himself drowning at the time through his state in relation to God Most High and through the knowledge that he was too weak to be constant in the beauty of fair Intercourse with God and through grief at the changing of his heart and its turning from the laws of the Truth. Then when there struck upon his ear what agreed with his state, he heard it as from God Most High as though He were addressing him and saying to him—

"Every day thou changest; other conduct than this
would be more comely in thee."

And it behoves him whose Hearing is from God and concerning God and in Him that he should have grasped firmly the canon of the science treating of the knowledge of God Most High and of His attributes. If he has not, there is danger to him of Hearing with regard to God Most High what is impossible concerning Him and of being an unbeliever in Him. And in the Hearing of the Murīd, who is a beginner, there is danger, except when he applies what he hears to his own states only, in so far as what he hears cannot be connected with the description of God Most High. This very verse exemplifies such a possible error. If he had heard it as to himself, as though he were addressing with it his Lord, whose are Might and Majesty, then he would have ascribed the changing to God Most High and so would have been an unbeliever. This sometimes happens from pure and absolute ignorance unmixed with any appreciation of the truth, and sometimes it springs from an ignorance

[1] That is, he reduced his clothing to the simplest possible as a sign of entrance on the ascetic life. It may also mean that he went on pilgrimage, for the *Iḥrām* clothing consists, as here, of an *izār* and a *ridā*, and some pilgrims, out of devotion, assume it from their first setting out.

to which he is led by a kind of appreciation of the truth. That last is when he sees that the changing of the states of his heart and the changing of the states of the rest of the world are from God, and that is truth, for He at one time expands the heart of His creature and at another contracts it, at one time illumines it and at another darkens it, at one time hardens it and at another softens it, at one time establishes it in obedience to Himself and strengthens it therein and at another makes the Devil to rule over it and turn it from the laws of the Truth. This, all of it, is from God Most High.

And perhaps the poet meant here only to ascribe to his beloved the being changeable in accepting him and rejecting him, in making him draw near and making him retire—that such was his meaning. Then the Hearing of it in that way with regard to God Most High is pure unbelief. Yea, it is necessary that it should be known that He, who is exalted above imperfection and is Most High, produces change but is not changed Himself, makes others different but does not become different Himself, and therein is opposed to His creatures. This knowledge results to the Murīd by acceptance on faith and on the evidence of tradition, but results to the discerning 'Ārif[1] by certainty, revealed and verified. That is one of the greatest wonders of the attributes of God that He changes without being Himself changed; a thing that is only thinkable in the case of God Most High; all else that produces a change does not produce it in anything without that producing a change in itself.

And of those who fall into ecstasy there are some whom a state overcomes which is like that drunkenness which confounds the reason; then they give free course to their tongues, chiding with God Most High, and they blame His subduing of hearts and distribution of the Glorious States as faulty. For He it is who chooses the hearts of

[1] The Murīd is a beginner, one who has just set out on the Path of the mystical life; the 'Ārif, or 'knower,' is an advanced disciple who has attained immediate knowledge for himself.

the faithful believers and rejects the hearts of deniers and of the infatuate, and there is no one who hinders after He has given or gives after He has hindered, and He has not restrained His aid from unbelievers for any previous crime, nor has He assisted the Prophets with His aid and with the light of His guidance for any preceding favour, but He has said—*And verily, Our word came first to Our servants, those sent* [Qur., xxxvii, 171]. And He, whose are Might and Majesty, said—*But the saying from Me stands firm, Verily, I will fill hell with Jinn and mankind—all* [Qur., xxxii, 13]. And He Most High said—*Verily, those to whom there came first from Us happiness, they are removed far from that* [Qur., xxi, 101].

Then if the thought suggest itself to thee, Why does that vary which comes first [is predestined], while those on whom it falls are partakers in the noose of servitude? it is proclaimed unto thee from the Canopy of Majesty,[1] "Pass not the bound of fair behaviour! *for He is not asked concerning what He does, but they are asked*" [Qur., xxi, 23]. And, by my life, good government of the tongue and of the external behaviour belongs to that over which most persons have power, but as for the government of the secret thoughts to prevent them meditating over and finding strange this evident difference in bringing some near and rejecting others, and making some miserable and others happy, while the abiding of the happiness and misery is for ever and ever, for that none is strong enough save the learned who stand firm in knowledge. And, therefore, did al-Khaḍir, when he was asked in the dream concerning Hearing, say, "It is pure slipperiness, there stand not fast upon it save the feet of the learned." This is because it moves the secret parts and the hidden places of the heart, and disturbs it as that drunkenness which confounds the reason disturbs it, and almost looses the knot of fair

[1] *Surādiqāt al-jalāl*: *surādiq* is explained by the lexicons as anything surrounded by something by way of wall or as a tent set up; in this phrase it appears to be used of the inmost pavilion in which the very Majesty of God is veiled. See the *Durra*, pp. 2, 12, 54, 66 of the version.

behaviour from the secret thoughts, except in those whom God Most High protects by the light of His guidance and the benevolence of His protection. And, therefore, have some[1] said, "Would that we might escape on equal terms[2] from this Hearing!" And in this kind of Hearing there is a danger greater than the danger that moves lust, for the end of that is an act of disobedience, but the end of failure here is unbelief.

And know that the understanding of what is heard varies with the states of the listener. Ecstasy obtains control over two listeners to one verse, and one of them hits the mark and the other fails, or both of them hit the mark, and yet they have understood two different meanings, contradictory to one another. But these, viewed in relation to the different states of the hearers, are not discrepant with one another. It is related from 'Utba al-Ghulām[3] that he heard a man saying—

> "How far from imperfection is the Mighty One of heaven!
> Verily, the lover is in distress."

Then he said, "Thou hast said truth," and another man heard him and said, "Thou hast lied." Then said one of the possessors of perception, "They have both hit the mark together." And that was the truth. The acknowledging that the verse is true is the speech of a lover who cannot get what he desires, but is kept at a distance, and wearied by that and by being shunned. And the asserting that the verse is false is the speech of one who is rejoicing in love, taking pleasure in what he endures on account of the superabundance of his love, and not distressed by it. Or it is the speech of a lover who is not at the time debarred from

[1] The SM. ascribes the saying to Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ar-Rudhbārī; d. 322 or 323. Ibn Khall., i, p. 86, note 4; al-Qush., p. 33.

[2] *Ra'san bi-ra'sin.* The SM. explains *lā lanā walā 'alaynā.* It is a horse-racing phrase, equal to our neck and neck; see Ibn Khall., i, p. 48, note 5, and p. 59, note 1.

[3] 'Utba b. Abbān b. Taghlib al-Ghulām; so the SM. There are anecdotes of him in Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī's *Tazyīn al-aswāq*, e.g. pp. 45 and 48 of lithog. of 1279, and in the *Lawāqiḥ*, p. 37. According to the *Fihrist*, p. 185, he wrote a *Risāla fī-z-zuhd.*

his desire, and who does not fear the danger of eventually being debarred; that is because hope and fair thoughts rule his heart. So, through the varying of these states, the understanding of what is heard varies.

Further, there is a story about Abū-l-Qāsim b. Marwān.[1] He had accompanied Abū Sa'īd,[2] the cobbler, but had abandoned attendance on Hearing for many years. Then he attended a party, and in it was a man who said—

> "One standing in the water and thirsty, but he is not given to drink."

Then the people arose and constrained themselves to ecstasy, and when they were quiet he asked them concerning what came to them of the meaning of the verse, and they pointed to the thirsting after the Glorious States and the being debarred from them in spite of the presence of their causes. But that did not satisfy him, so they said to him, "And what is thy opinion as to it?" Then he said, "My opinion is that he is in the midst of states and graced with Charismata,[3] and yet is not given a single grain of them." This points to the existence of a Truth behind the states and Charismata, to which the states are forerunners and of which the Charismata are amongst the beginnings; and that Truth itself is behind—no one attains to it. And between the meaning which they understood and that which he mentioned there is no difference except in the distance in rank of the thing after which thirst is felt. For he that is debarred first from the Glorious States, thirsts for them; then if he can obtain them, he thirsts for what is behind them. So between the two meanings there is no varying as to understanding, but the varying is between the two ranks.

[1] Abū-l-Qāsim was a comrade of Dhū-n-Nūn and Sarī; he died in 277.

[2] Abu Sa'īd Aḥmad b. 'Īsà al-Baghdādī al-Kharrāz was a companion of Dhū-n-Nūn, an-Nabbāzī, Abū 'Ubayd al-Baṣrī, Sarī, and Bishr; d. 277. Al-Qushayri, pp. 28 f. *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 73.

[3] *Karāmāt*; cf. note 2 on p. 95 of *Life*, and add to the references there Ibn Ḥazm in ZDMG., lii, p. 475.

And ash-Shiblī[1] would greatly constrain himself to ecstasy at this verse:—

> "Your liking is shunning and your love is hate, and your
> union is separation and your peace is war."

The Hearing of this verse is possible in different ways, some true, some false. The most evident of them is to understand it of creation, that is, of the world as a whole—everything except God Most High. For the world is full of guile and deceit and slaughter towards those that are of it, hostile to them within, though showing without an appearance of love. For, as has been handed down in the tradition, "A house is never full of joy through it, but it is full of weeping." And as ath-Tha'ālibī[2] said describing the world—

> "Cease from the World and seek her not in marriage;
> seek not in marriage a slayer of him whom she weds.
> What is hoped for from her is not procured by what
> is feared in her, and what in her is disliked—even
> though thou hopest—is the greater part.
> Verily, the describers have spoken of her and made long
> their speech, and with me is a description of her that,
> by my life! is sound.
> A juice the later end of which is deadly; and a desired
> steed which is restive whenever thou wouldst have
> pleasure in him;
> And a fair form, the beauty of which affects men, but it
> has vile secrets of evil."

And the second possible meaning is that the hearer should apply it to himself in regard to God Most High. For whenever he reflects, he sees that his knowledge is ignorance, since men cannot measure God according to His true

[1] Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar b. Yūnus ash-Shiblī; d. 334. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 511 ff.; al-Qush., p. 32.
[2] Abū Manṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī (d. 429), the author of the *Fiqh al-lugha* and the compiler of the *Yatīma*, published at Damascus in A.H. 1302. See, too, Dieterici, *Mutannabi und Seifuddaula*, Leipzig, 1847.

measure; and his obedience is hypocrisy, since he cannot fear God according to His true fear; and his love is sickly, since he will not lay aside one of his lusts through his love. And him to whom God has willed good He instructs in the faults of his soul, and then he sees the truth of this verse in himself, although he may hold a high rank among those that are heedless. And on account of that the Prophet said, "I cannot reckon up Thy benefits and praise Thee for them as Thou hast praised Thyself." And he said also, "Verily, I ask pardon of God in the day and the night seventy times." And his asking pardon was only on account of states, that is steps, long in respect to what is behind them, though they may be short in respect to what is before them.[1] For there is no approaching but beyond it there remains an approaching without end, since the path pursued of advance to God Most High is without end, and attaining to the farthest of the steps of approach is impossible.

And the third possible meaning is that the hearer should regard his first states and be well pleased with them; and then should regard those that follow and contemn them on account of his meeting in them veiled things of the Deceitful One.[2] Then he considers that to be from God Most High, and listens to the verse with regard to God Most High in complaint against Fate and Destiny,[3] which is unbelief according to the exposition which has preceded. And there is no verse but it is possible to apply it to different meanings, and that is in proportion to the abundance of the knowledge of the listener and the purity of his heart.

The fourth condition is the Hearing of him who has passed beyond states and stages. He is distant from knowing aught save God Most High to such a degree that he is distant even from knowledge of his own self and its

[1] Apparently he means that there is a great deal of effort but little progress forward.
[2] *Al-Gharūr*; may be either the World or the Devil. On the word in the broad sense see the *Kitāb dhamm al-gharūr*, the tenth of the third *Rub'* of the *Iḥyā*.
[3] *Qaḍā* and *qadar*; for an examination of these two terms see Abd ar-Razzāq in J.A., 2e sér., i, 160.

states and intercourse, and is like one stupefied, a diver in the very sea of Witnessing, whose state resembles the state of the women who cut their hands, witnessing the loveliness of Yūsuf, when their wonder went so far that their perceptions were stupefied and failed.[1] Of such as are in this condition the Ṣūfīs use the expression *faniya*, "he has passed away from himself and come to an end" [i.e. he is oblivious to himself], and whenever anyone passes away from himself, he must pass away from all besides himself; then it is as though he passed away from everything except the One—the witnessed one. He passes away also from the act of witnessing, for the heart, whenever it turns aside to view the act of witnessing and itself as a witnesser, is heedless of the thing witnessed. But for him who is infatuated in a thing which he sees there is no turning aside, in his state of seeking to plunge into it, to his act of seeing, nor to his own self through which is his seeing, nor to his heart in which is his pleasure. A drunken man tells no tale about his drunkenness, nor he who is taking pleasure about his taking of pleasure, but his tale is only about that in which he takes pleasure. And an example of this is in knowledge of a thing, for it changes to knowledge of the knowledge of that thing, and the knowledge of the thing, whenever there comes to the knower knowledge of his knowledge, is turned from the thing. And such a condition as this sometimes suddenly appears with regard to created things, and sometimes, also, with regard to the Creator. For the most part it is like swift lightning which stands not and lasts not; if it should last, human strength could not endure it. And often he who is thus affected is agitated under its burdens with an agitation which slays his soul, like what is narrated concerning Abū-l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī[2] that he was present at an assembly and heard this verse:—

[1] See the story of Joseph in Sūra xii of the Qur'ān. This is the standard Muslim illustration of complete absorption.

[2] Abū-l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nūrī al-Baghdādī, a comrade of Sarī; d. 295 or 298. Al-Qush., p. 25; de Sacy in *Notices et Extraits*, xii, p. 427, note 9.

"I ceased not alighting, on account of thy love, at a place of alighting, in alighting at which hearts are bewildered."

Then he arose and constrained himself to an ecstasy, and ran wildly on, and happened upon a cane-brake which had been cut, but the stems in which remained like swords. Then he kept running in it and repeating the verse until the morning, and the blood flowed from his legs so that his feet and shanks swelled. And he lived after that a few days and died. May God have mercy upon him!

This is the step of those who are faithfully true in understanding and in ecstasy, and it is the highest of the steps; for Hearing through states is a descent from the steps of perfection. States are mingled with attributes of the flesh and Hearing is a kind of falling short; that only is perfection that the subject should pass away totally from himself and his states. I mean, that he should forget them and that there should not remain to him any paying of attention to them, like as the women paid no attention to their hands and to the knives.[1] So he hears God and with God and in God and from God. This is the rank of him who wades the deep sea of verities and has passed the shoreland of states and works, and has occupied himself with the purity of the Unity and is confirmed in absolute sincerity. Then there does not remain in him anything of it as a root, but his fleshliness totally dies down, and his paying attention to fleshly attributes passes away absolutely. And I do not mean by his 'passing away' the passing away of his body, but the passing away of his heart. And I do not mean by the 'heart' the flesh and blood, but a delicate secret thing which he has, a hidden relationship to the evident heart behind which is the secret thing of the spirit which exists by the command of God, whose are Might and Majesty. He knows it who knows it, and he is ignorant of it who is ignorant of it. And to that secret thing there

[1] In the story of Joseph.

is an existence, and the quality [*ṣūra*, i.e. form as opposed to substance] of that existence is what is present in it. Then whenever there is present in it something else than itself, it is as though only that thing which is present had existence. And a parallel to it is a polished mirror, since it has no colour in itself, but its colour is the colour of what is present in it. And so, too, is a glass, for it imitates the colour of its resting-place, and its colour is the colour of what is present in it. It has not in itself any quality, but its quality is to receive qualities, and its colour is a kind of being prepared to receive colours.

And there speaks clearly of this essence in the heart in relation to what is present in it, the saying of the poet[1]—

> "Fine is the glass and fine the wine, so they mingle together
> and the thing becomes hard.
> It is as though there were wine and no glass, and as
> though there were a glass and no wine."

This is one of the stages of the sciences of Revelation. From it begins the phantasy of him[2] who claimed being 'in-dwelt' [*ḥulūl*] and 'becoming one' [*ittiḥād*], and said, "I am the Truth," and around it buzzes the talk of the Christians in claim of a uniting of the divine and the human, or of one being clothed with the other, or taking up its abode in it, according as their expressions vary. This is a pure blunder, which resembles the blunder of him who assigns to a mirror the quality of redness whenever the colour of redness shows in it from what is opposite it.

But such cases as these do not pertain to the science of Intercourse, so let us return to the point; we have mentioned how the steps as to the understanding of things heard stand apart.

[1] The Ṣāḥib, Ibn 'Abbād; see Ibn Khall., i, 215.
[2] Al-Ḥallāj; killed 309. Ibn Khall., i, pp. 423 ff.; von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, pp. 70 ff.; ZDMG., lii, pp. 468 ff.; Fihrist, pp. 190 ff.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 387; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), pp. 86 ff.; al-Bērūnī, *Athār*, p. 211; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii, pp. 57, 92.

The Second Stage.

After understanding and application comes ecstasy. And men have had a long discussion as to the reality of ecstasy; I mean the Ṣūfīs and those philosophers who have considered the relation of Hearing to the soul. As for the Ṣūfīs, Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī has said of ecstasy that it is a Visitant [*wārid*] of truth which comes disturbing hearts and driving them towards the Truth; then he who gives ear to it in truth, attains truth, and he who gives ear to it in fleshliness, becomes an unbeliever. So it is as though he used being aroused on the part of hearts and driven towards the Truth as an expression for ecstasy, and ecstasy [*wajd*] was that which he found [*yajiduhu*] at the arrival of the Visitant of Hearing, since he calls Hearing a Visitant of truth. And Abū-l-Ḥusayn ad-Darrāj said, talking of what he found in Hearing, "Ecstasy [*wajd*] is an expression for what is found [*yūjadu*] with Hearing." He said also, "Hearing whirls about with me in the exercise-grounds of beauty, and causes me to find the existence of the Truth beside the Veil, and gives me drink from the cup of purity, so that I attain by it to the alighting-places of good-will, and it brings me out to the gardens of delight and ease." And ash-Shiblī said, "That which is external in Hearing is a temptation, and that which is internal is a warning, and to him who knows the signification, listening to the sign is lawful. But he who does not, has summoned temptation and exposed himself to ruin." And someone said, "Hearing is the morning meal of souls for the people of knowledge; for it is a praise that is finer than all other works, and by subtleness of nature there is attainment to its subtleness, and by purity of the secret heart to its purity and its graciousness with those worthy of it." And 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī[1] said, "No explanation covers the nature of ecstasy, for it is a secret of God with His faithful

[1] Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī, a comrade of Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; he died in Baghdad, 291. Al-Qush., p. 327.

believers." And someone said, "Ecstasy consists of Revelations proceeding from the Truth." And Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Arābī[1] said, "Ecstasy is lifting of the curtain, and witnessing of the Watcher,[2] and presence of understanding, and observation of the Unseen, and converse with the secret, and intercourse with that which is missing; it consists in thy passing away and coming to an end in respect of what thou art." He said also, "Ecstasy is the first of the stages of those whom God distinguishes and chooses out, and it is the inheritance that comes from belief in the unseen; then, when men taste it, and its light spreads abroad in their heart, there falls away from them all doubt and uncertainty." He said also, "That which curtains off from ecstasy is seeing the traces of the flesh and being entangled in affections and motives; for the flesh is curtained in by its motives. Then whenever the motives are broken away, and the memory is cleansed, and the heart is clean and fine and pure, and exhortation profits the subject, and he alights through secret intercourse in a near alighting-place, and he is addressed and hears with an attentive ear him who addresses him, and with a witnessing heart and a secret thought made evident, then he witnesses what was distant from him, and that is ecstasy [*wajd*], because he has found [*wajada*] what was lacking with him." He said also, "Ecstasy is what comes at a mention that arouses, or a fear that disquiets, or at a rebuke for a slip, or in a conversation concerning one of God's gracious boons, or at something which points to an advantage, or at a feeling of longing for the unseen, or at grief for that which has passed, or at regret for that which has gone, or at an effort towards a state, or at a summoner towards a positive duty, or at intercourse in the secret heart; it is when external and external are face to face, and

[1] Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Baṣrī ibn al-'Arābī; he settled at Mecca and died there in 341. He was a companion of al-Junayd, 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, and an-Nūrī. Al-Qush., p. 35.

[2] *Ar-Raqīb*, one of the names of God, because, as the *Lisān* says, nothing is hidden from Him. See Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1134*a*, and *Lisān*, i, p. 408. It is the forty-third in the numbering of the Most Beautiful Names as usually given.

internal and internal, and unseen and unseen, and secret thought and secret thought; it is the extracting of what is in thy favour through what is against thee out of that in which there was labouring before thee. Then that is written down to thee, after it was apart from thee; so there is established to thee a dignity without a dignity and a renown without a renown, since He is the one who dispenses favours first and to whom the whole command goes back."[1]

This is the external part of the science of ecstasy, and the sayings of the Ṣūfīs of this kind as to ecstasy are very numerous.

As for the Philosophers, one of them said: "There is in the heart a glorious excellency; the force of speech is not able to elicit it with words, but the soul can do it with melodies. Then, when it appears, the soul is rejoiced and moved towards it; so listen to the soul and have secret converse with it, and summon the secret converse of external things." And one of them said: "The consequences of hearing music and singing are that he who was weak in counsel is set to work, and he who was distant from meditation is driven forward, and he who was wearied on account of considerations and plans is sharpened, so that there comes back what was distant, and begins to work what was weak, and is clean what was discoloured, and he becomes lively in every plan and intention and hits the mark and does not go astray and arrives and does not linger." And another said, "Just as thought follows on the paths of science to the thing it deals with, so hearing music and singing follows on the paths of the heart to the spiritual world." And one of them said—he had been asked what was the cause of the spontaneous moving of the extremities of the body according to the measure of melodies and rhythms—"That is passionate love in the reason [*al-'ishq al-'aqlī*]; and he who loves passionately in the reason has no need that he should soothe or coax his beloved with

[1] I am by no means certain of my translation of the last few sentences.

speech, but he soothes and coaxes and has secret intercourse by smiling and glancing and delicate movement of eyelash and eyebrow and signs, and these all speak, only they are spiritual. But as for the passionate lover of the animal kind, he uses speech that he may express by it the fruit of the external part of his weak longing and counterfeit passion." And another said, "He who sorrows let him listen to melodies, for when sorrow enters the soul the light of the soul dies down, but whenever the soul rejoices its light flames up, and its joy appears, and yearning appears in proportion to the possible receiving of him who receives it, and that is in proportion to his purity and cleanness from guile and filthiness."

And the opinions that have been expressed concerning Hearing and ecstasy are very many, but there is no reason why we should adduce many of them; so let us try to understand the idea for which ecstasy is an expression. We say that it is an expression for a condition which Hearing produces as its result, and it is a truthful visitant, fresh, a consequence to Hearing, and the listener experiences it from his soul. This condition must fall in one of two divisions. It can either be referred to acts of revelation and Witnessing—these are on the side of knowledge and admonitions—or it may be referred to changings and states that are not from knowledge, but are such as longing and fear and grief and disquietude and joy and vexation and regret and expansion and contraction of the heart—these all are states which Hearing arouses or strengthens. Then if it is weak in so much that it does not produce an effect by way of external movement or repose or change of condition, so that the external form should be moved contrary to its custom, or goes or stays from looking or speaking or moving contrary to its custom, it is not called ecstasy. But if it shows itself externally it is called ecstasy either weak or strong, in proportion to how it shows itself and to the external change which it produces. And its producing movement is in proportion to the force with which it comes; and the guarding against external change

is in proportion to the force of him who is under the ecstasy and his power to control his limbs. So, sometimes, the ecstasy is strong with regard to external things, yet no external change is produced because of the force of him who is being affected. And sometimes external movement does not appear on account of the weakness of the visitant and its falling short of producing movement and loosing the knot of restraint.

And towards the first sense Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Arābī pointed when he said of ecstasy that it consisted in Witnessing of the Watcher, and in the presence of understanding, and in beholding of the Unseen. And it is natural that Hearing should be a cause of revealing that which before was unrevealed, for revealing takes place through certain causes, one of which is admonition, and Hearing is an admonisher. And another of the causes of revealing is changing of the states, and witnessing of them, and attaining to them, for attaining to them is a kind of knowledge that helps to explain things that were not known before. And another of them is purity of heart; and Hearing produces purity of heart, and the purity is a cause of revealing. And another of them is the arousing alacrity of heart through force of Hearing, and thus the heart is strengthened to witness that which its strength was not equal to before, just as a beast of burden is strengthened to carry what before that it could not. And the work of the heart is seeking after revelation and beholding the secrets of the Kingdom,[1] just as the work of the beast of burden is the carrying of loads. Thus, through these causes, Hearing is a cause of revealing. Further, the heart, when it is pure, often has represented to it the truth in the form of an act of Witnessing, or in a bit of verse that strikes upon the ear which is expressed by the voice of the Hātif[2] when the hearer is awake or by a vision when he is dreaming (and

[1] *Al-Malakūt*; see p. 116 of *Life*.
[2] For the Hātif see *Life*, note 2 on p. 108, and compare the δαίμων of Socrates.

that is one six and fortieth part of prophecy[1]—but the science by which that may be proved is foreign to the science of Intercourse). What is narrated from Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Baghdādī[2] is a case in point. He said: "I went out one night in the days of my foolishness, and I was drunken and singing this verse—

> 'In Mount Saynā is a vine which I never pass by but I marvel at those who drink water.'[3]

Then I heard one saying—

> 'And in Jahannum is a well; not a throat gulps it down, but it tears from its belly the entrails.'

And that was the cause of my repenting and busying myself with science and the service of God." Then consider how the singing worked in purifying his heart, until there appeared to him the essence of the truth in the description of Jahannum by means of an expression with a meaning couched in measured language, and which struck his external ear. And it is related from Muslim al-'Abbādānī[4] that he said: "There came to us once Ṣāliḥ al-Marrī[5] and 'Utba al-Ghulām and 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd[6] and Muslim al-

[1] There is a tradition that Muḥammad said, "Dreaming is one six and fortieth part of prophecy." See note 2 on p. 90 of *Life*, and add al-Bērūnī's dream, text vol. of *Athār*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[2] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Baghdādī. A son of his, Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, was of the people of Ṭūs, but lived in Baghdād and was a companion of al-Muḥāsibī and Sarī. He died in Baghdad 298 or 299. Al-Qush., p. 29; *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 74.

[3] *Bi-ṭūri saynā'a karmun mā marartū bihā*; so the vulgate text. The SM. quotes it in his commentary as the reading of some MSS., but reads in his text from other MSS. بطرزنا ماء كرم; he suggests that this is the name of some valley, *biq'a*.

[4] For 'Abbādān see Yāqūt, iii, pp. 597 f.; he says that many ascetics have their *nisba* from it. It is on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab, now about twenty-five miles from the sea. I can find nothing about this Muslim.

[5] Abū Yasīr Ṣāliḥ b. Bashīr al-qārī', known as al-Marrī, of the people of al-Baṣra; d. 196. So No. 303 in Wüstenfeld's Ibn Khall., but it is not in the autograph. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 37.

[6] Abū 'Ubayda 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd al-Baṣri, a wā'iẓ; d. 128 or 177 (?). See Abū-l-Maḥāsin, i, pp. 342 and 485. Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. al-'Arabī gives anecdotes of him in his *Musāmarāt*, ii, p. 202 of ed. of Cairo, 1305. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 37.

Aswārī,[1] and they alighted by the shore. Then I prepared for them that night some food, and summoned them to it and they came. But when I laid the food before them, lo, a speaker who said this verse, lifting up his voice—

> 'And meats divert thee from the eternal abode; and the going astray of a pleasure of the appetite is no thing of advantage.'

Then 'Utba al-Ghulām cried a great cry and fell down fainting, and the people wept, and I took away the food, and, by Allāh! they did not taste of it a morsel."

And just as the voice of the Hātif is heard with purity of heart, so there is witnessed also with the eye the form of al-Khaḍir, for he presents himself in varying forms to the possessors of hearts.[2] And under similar conditions the angels present themselves to the prophets, either in their veritable form or in a likeness which resembles their form with some resemblance. The Apostle of God saw Jibrīl twice in his own form and related of him that he blocked the horizon. That is what is meant in the saying of Him Most High, *There instructed him one terrible of strength, a possessor of prudence; then he stood erect and he was in the upper horizon*—to the end of the verse.[3]

And in such states which have their origin in purity, perception swoops down on the secret thoughts of hearts. That perception is sometimes called insight,[4] and therefore the Prophet said, "Beware of the insight of the believer, for he sees in the light of God." It has been related that

[1] Muslim al-Aswārī. The *nisba* is to al-Aswārīya, a village of Ispahan. Yāqūt, i, 317 and 834, gives the spellings *As* and *Us*, but adh-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, p. 12, distinguishes and assigns *Us* to the family of Tamīm. I cannot identify this Muslim.

[2] By "the possessors of hearts" al-Ghazzālī seems to mean those who are of an emotional nature and can be affected through the heart.

[3] Qur'ān, liii, 5 ff. Jibrīl is Gabriel, the angel of revelation. No prophet has seen him in his own form except Muḥammad, and he only twice.

[4] *Firāsa*, reckoned as one of the *karāmāt* of the Saints. It is an insight or intuitive perception with which they are divinely gifted and by which they can pierce beneath the surface to the real nature of things. At the present day the word is used most in the sense of physiognomy. See Lane, p. 2368*a*, and the section devoted to the subject in al-Qushayrī, pp. 137 ff.

a man of the Magians used to go about to the Muslims and ask them, "What is the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, 'Beware of the insight of the believer'?" Then they would rehearse to him its interpretation, but that would not satisfy him. At last he came to one of the Shaykhs of the Ṣūfīs and asked him. Then he said to him, "Its meaning is that you should cut off the girdle that is about your middle under your dress."[1] Then he said, "Thou hast said rightly; that is its meaning." Then he repeated the Muslim confession of faith and said, "Now I know that you are a believer, and that your belief is true." And similarly it is related from Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ[2] that he said: "I was in Baghdād among a company of Faqīrs in the Mosque, and there advanced a youth, excellent of odour, handsome of face. Then I said to my fellows, 'It occurs to me that he is a Jew,' but they all disagreed with me in that. Then I went out, and the youth went out and returned to them and said, 'What did the Shaykh say of me?' So they were ashamed, but he pressed them and they said, 'That thou wast a Jew.' Then he came to me and bent over my hands and kissed my head and recited the Muslim confession of faith and said, 'We find in our books that the insight of the very veracious does not fail. So I said, "I will test the Muslims." Then I regarded them and said, "If there is among them a very veracious one it is in this group, for they are speaking of the stories of Him whose glory is exalted and reciting of His might." Then I clothed myself like you, and when the Shaykh scrutinized me and had insight as to me, I knew that he was a very veracious one.' So was the story, and the youth came to be of the great ones of the Ṣūfīs."

And it is to such revealing as this that the saying of the Prophet points, "If the devils were not hovering around

[1] Apparently it was worn secretly, and he posed as a Muslim. The same story is told of Junayd; see de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, xii, pp. 429 f.
[2] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Khawwāṣ, a contemporary of al-Junayd and an-Nūrī. He died in ar-Rayy in 291. Al-Qush., p. 30; this story is on p. 141.

the hearts of the Sons of Adam, verily they would behold the kingdom of heaven [*malakūt as-samā*]." And the devils hover around hearts only when they are equipped with blameworthy qualities, for such are the pasture-ground of the devil and of his host, and he who cleanses his heart from these qualities and purifies himself, the devil does not circle around his heart. And to this, too, points the saying of Him Most High, *Except thy servants from among them—the purified*, and the saying of Him Most High, *Lo, my servants, thou hast no power over them* [Qur., xv, 40, 42].

And Hearing is a cause of purity of heart, and by means of purity it is a net for truth. This is indicated by what is narrated that Dhū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī entered Baghdād, and there assembled to him a company of the Ṣūfīs and along with them was a reciter of poems.[1] Then they asked his permission that the reciter should recite something to them, and he gave it. So the reciter chanted, saying—

> "A little of thy love torments me, then how will it be with it when it gains complete mastery? And thou hast joined in my heart all of a love in which others have formerly shared. Dost thou not lament for him who is sore wounded, who weeps when he that is free of care laughs?"

And Dhū-n-Nūn arose and fell upon his face. Then another man arose, and Dhū-n-Nūn said, *He who seeth thee when thou risest*, and the man sat down.[2] And that on the part of Dhū-n-Nūn was insight into the man's heart that he was trying to feign ecstasy. So he showed him that He who was seeing him when he rose was the opponent to his rising on account of anything else than God Most High. And if the man had been sincere he would not have sat down.

[1] *Qawwāl*; this seems to mean the chanter or singer of poems as opposed to the *qāri'*, who chants the Qur'ān.
[2] Qur'ān, xxvi, 218; we are apparently to understand that this man was making only an appearance of ecstasy or had not reached the point at which ecstasy was allowable. The rule is to repress external ecstasy until it burst out and can be suppressed no longer. *Tawājada* means both to feign ecstasy and to press it.

Then, since the result of ecstasy resolves itself into revelations and states, know that each one of these two is divisible into that for which an expression, when one is free from it, is possible, and that for which an expression is fundamentally impossible. Perhaps you will find strange a condition or knowledge the real nature of which you do not know and the expression of the real nature of which is impossible; but do not regard that as strange, for you will find witnesses for it in your ordinary states. As for the knowledge, how many a lawyer there is whom two questions confront, similar in form, but the lawyer gets so far by his natural faculty as to perceive that between them there is a difference as to the decision, yet whenever he tries to state the direction of the difference his tongue does not help him to express it, although he may be the most eloquent of men. So he attains by his natural faculty to perceive the difference, but the expressing of it is impossible to him. And his attaining to see the difference is knowledge which he meets in his heart through natural faculty, and, without doubt, there is a cause for its occurrence in his heart. That difference has a real nature with God Most High, but the lawyer is not able to speak of it, not on account of any falling short in his tongue, but because the idea is too fine in itself for expression to present it. This belongs to what has been thought out by those who apply themselves to looking into complicated things.

And as for the states, how many a man gets so far as to perceive in his heart, on some occasion which may appear in it, a contraction or an expansion, yet he does not know its cause! And a man sometimes thinks about a thing, and it makes an impression on his soul. Then he forgets the cause, but the impression remains upon his soul, and he feels it. And, sometimes, the condition which he feels is a joy which arose in his soul on his thinking about a cause which produces joy; or it may have been a sorrow; then he who was thinking about it forgets, but feels in the impression its consequence. And sometimes that condition is a strange condition which a word expressing joy or sorrow does not indicate clearly, and for which he cannot come upon a suitable expression revealing what was intended. Thus some people are distinguished above others by a natural faculty of taste in metrical poetry and a power of distinguishing between it and that which is not metrical. And the condition is one which the possessor of a natural faculty of taste attains to perceive in respect that he is not in doubt as to it—I mean as to the distinguishing between that which is good as to metre or bad. Yet he is not able to express the condition by anything which will make clear his meaning to one who has not a natural faculty of taste.

In the soul are strange states, and this is their description.[1] The well-recognized ideas of fear and grief and joy occur only in the case of that Hearing which proceeds from singing that has a meaning. But as for vibrating strings and the other musical tones which have no meaning, they make on the soul a wonderful impression, and it is not possible to express the wonders of that impression. Sometimes it is expressed as a longing; but a longing which he who feels does not know for what he longs, is wonderful. And he whose heart is disturbed when he hears stringed instruments and the *shāhīn* and their like does not know for what he is longing. He finds in his heart a state as though it demanded a thing he does not know what; this befalls even the common herd and those over whose hearts the love neither of man nor of God Most High can get control. There is a mystery in this, and it is that to every longing belong two fundamental bases: the one of them is a quality in him that longs, a kind of relationship with that which is longed for; and the second is a knowledge of the thing longed for, and a knowledge of what attaining to it would be like. Then given the quality in which is the longing and given the knowledge of the appearance of the thing longed for, the matter is clear. But if the knowledge of the thing longed for is not given, and the quality of

[1] This passage is worthy of very careful attention. As an analysis of the spiritual effects of music I know nothing like it in Arabic literature; nor in English, except the book of Mr. Haweis referred to in the *Life*, p. 73.

longing is given and the quality moves the heart and its flame flares up, that entails confusion of mind and bewilderment without fail. If a human being grew up alone so that he never saw the form of women and knew not what sexual intercourse was, and thereafter approached puberty and lust overcame him, verily he would feel in himself the fire of lust, but would not know that he was longing for sexual intercourse, because he did not know what sexual intercourse was and had no experience of the form of women. There is a relationship like this in the soul of the human being with the upper world and the pleasures which he is promised there at the Lote-tree of the Extremity[1] and in the upper Paradises. Only he cannot imagine these things to himself except as qualities and names, like him who has heard the expression 'sexual intercourse' and the name 'woman,' but has not seen the form of a woman even, nor the form of a man, nor his own form in a mirror that he might know by analogy. So Hearing moves in him longing, but abounding ignorance and the being occupied with this world have made him forget himself, and have made him forget his Lord, and have made him forget his abiding-place to which is his desire and his longing by nature. Then his heart demands from him a thing he does not know what, and he is confused and bewildered and disturbed like one who is choking, who does not know how to be saved. This, and things like it, belong to the states, a perception of the completeness of the verities of which is not to be attained, and he who is affected by them is not able to give them expression.

The division of ecstasy into that which can be made manifest and that which cannot be made manifest is now clear. Then know also that ecstasy [*wajd*] is divided into that which itself attacks and that which is forced, and that is called affecting ecstasy [*tawājud*]. Of this forced affecting of ecstasy there is that which is blameworthy, and it is

[1] The *Sidratu-l-muntahà*, the farthest point in heaven to which the knowledge of creatures reaches (Qur'ān, liii, 14). On the unspeakable joys of Paradise, see *Life*, p. 76, note 2.

what aims at hypocrisy and at the manifesting of the Glorious States in spite of being destitute of them. And of it there is that which is praiseworthy, and it leads to the invoking of the Glorious States and the gaining of them for oneself and bringing them to oneself by device; for the Glorious States may be brought through such gaining for oneself. And therefore the Apostle of God commanded him who did not weep at the reading of the Qur'ān that he should force weeping and mourning; for the beginning of these States is sometimes forced while their ends thereafter are true. And how should forcing not be a cause that that which is forced should become in the sequel a matter of nature? Everyone who learns the Qur'ān at first memorizes it by force, and recites it by force, in spite of completeness of meditation and presence of intelligence, and, thereafter, that becomes a regular custom to the tongue, so that the tongue runs on through it in prayer, etc., while he who prays is inattentive. So he recites the whole of a *Sūra*, and his soul returns to him after he has arrived at the end and he knows that he has recited it in a state of inattention. And so a writer writes at first with serious application, then his hand accustoms itself to penmanship and writing becomes to him nature. Then he writes many leaves while his heart is engrossed in thinking of something else.

So there is no path to gaining for oneself anything possible for the soul and the members except by effort and practice at first; and, thereafter, it becomes nature through custom. And that is what is meant by the saying of some, Custom is a fifth humour.[1] Thus it is with the Glorious States. It is not fitting that despair of them should arise when they are lacking, but it is fitting that an effort should be made to acquire them for oneself through Hearing and its like. And, in truth, as to habit, the case has been seen of one desiring to love passionately an individual that

[1] *Al-'āda ṭābi'a khāmisa.* *Tābi'a* means 'a humour' in the Hippocratic sense of the four humours, blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. It then comes to mean the *mizāj*, constitution or temperament of an animal body, literally, mixture.

at the time he does not love; then he does not cease repeating the mention of it to himself and keeping his gaze upon it and affirming to himself its amiable qualities and praiseworthy characteristics, until he does love it passionately, and that is fixed in his breast with a fixing that passes beyond the bound of his will. Then he may desire after that to be free of it and cannot get free of it. Like this is the love of God Most High and the longing to meet Him and the fear of His anger and other than that of the Glorious States; whenever a man misses them it is fitting that he should apply effort to bring them to himself by companioning with those who are characterized by them, and by witnessing their States and approving of their qualities in the soul and by sitting with them at Hearing and by praying and beseeching God Most High that He would grant him that condition through making easy to him its causes. And among its causes are the companionships of the excellent and of those who fear and love and long and of the humble; he who companions with any individual, to him there come qualities of that individual, though from whence he does not know. And the possibility that love and the rest of the states may result through these causes is indicated by the saying of the Apostle of God when he prayed, "O God, grant me Thy love and the love of those that love Thee and the love of those who bring me near to Thy love." So he (upon whom be peace!) in seeking love has sought aid of prayer.

This is an exposition of how ecstasy is divided into revelations and states, and how it is divided into what can be clearly stated and what can not be clearly stated, and how it is divided into what is produced by effort and what is natural.

Then if you say, "What is the mind of those whose ecstasy does not appear at hearing the Qur'ān—and it is the word of God—but appears at singing, and it is the word of poets? So even if that last is a truth issuing from the benignity of God Most High, and is not a lie issuing from the craft of the devil, yet the Qur'ān is worthier to cause ecstasy than singing." Then we say, Ecstasy is truth. It is what grows up out of the abundance of the love of God Most High and out of sincerity in desiring Him and in longing to meet Him. That is stirred up by hearing the Qur'ān also, and he who is not stirred up by hearing the Qur'ān, only loves the creation and loves passionately the created. The saying of God Most High indicates that, *Do not hearts rest confidingly in the mention of God*, and the saying of Him Most High, *Repetitions, the skins of those who fear their Lord bristle thereat; then their skins grow soft and their hearts at the mention of their Lord* [Qur., xiii, 28, and xxxix, 24]. And everything that is experienced [*yūjadu*] as a consequence of Hearing, because of Hearing in the soul, is ectasy [*wajd*]. The resting confidingly and the bristling and the fear and the softening of the heart, all that is ecstasy. And God Most High has said, *The Believers are only those whose hearts dread when God is mentioned*, and He Most High said, *If this Qur'ān were revealed to a mountain, verily thou wouldst see it humbling itself and splitting from fear of God* [Qur., viii, 2, and lix, 21]. So dread and humility are ecstasy on the side of states if not on the side of revelations, but this ecstasy sometimes causes revelations and admonitions. With regard to this the Prophet said, "Adorn the Qur'ān with your voices." And he said with regard to Abū Mūsà al-Ash'arī, "Verily, he has been given a pipe of the pipes of the family of Dā'ūd."

And the stories indicating that ecstasy has showed itself in the possessors of hearts at hearing the Qur'ān are many. The saying of the Prophet, "The *Sūra Hūd*[1] and those like it have turned my head white," speaks of ecstasy, for white hair results from sorrow and fear, that is, ecstasy. And it is related that Ibn Mas'ūd recited to the Apostle of God the *Sūra of Women*, and when he came to where God Most High says, *Then how when We bring from every people a witness and bring thee against these as a witness?*

[1] Sūra xi; it is full of stories of the judgments of God.

[Qur., iv, 45], he said, "That is enough," and his eyes were flowing with tears. And in a tradition stands that the Prophet recited this verse, or it was recited in his presence, *Verily with Us are fetters and flame and food that chokes and painful punishment* [Qur., lxxiii, 12]; then he fell fainting. And in a tradition stands that the Prophet recited, *If thou punishest them, lo! they are Thy servants* [Qur., v, 18]; then he wept. And whenever he passed a verse of compassion, he prayed and rejoiced; and rejoicing is ecstasy. And God Most High has praised the people of ecstasy in the Qur'ān, and He Most High said, *And whenever they hear what has been revealed to the Apostle you see their eyes flowing over with tears because of what of the truth they perceive* [Qur., v, 86]. And it is narrated that the Apostle of God was wont to pray with a boiling in his breast like the boiling of a cooking-pot.

And much is transmitted from the Companions and the Followers concerning ecstasy through the Qur'ān. Of them were some who fell swooning, and some who wept, and some who fainted, and some who died in their fainting. It is related that Zurāra b. Awfà [1]—he was one of the Followers—

[1] I can find nothing definite about this authority. In the *Aghānī* there is mention of a daughter of his, العلاة, bint Zurāra b. Awfà al-Jarshīya (*sic*), to whom al-Farazdaq wrote love-poetry. One *Isnād*, as given by the SM., goes back to Bahz b. Ḥakīm (an-Naw., p. 178). Dā'ūd b. Abī Hind al-Qushayrī (Ṭabaqāt of adh-Dhahabī, Wüsten., iv, 42), who d. 40, related traditions from him. In the Cairo vulgate text he is called Zurāra b. Abī Awfà, but that is an error. The SM. gives his full name as Zurāra b. Awfà al-'Āmirī al-Ḥarīshī al-Baṣrī Abū Ḥājib. His line thus goes to al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a (Wüsten., *Tabellen*, D 17; Ibn Qut., p. 43); in Rabī'a it joins that of the Zurāra b. Yazīd b. 'Amr, who gave his name to Zurāra in al-Kūfa: see al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 282, and Yāqūt, ii, 921, where we must read بنى البَكَّا for بنى البَكَّار. I cannot explain the *kunya* Abū Ḥājib; it looks very like a confusion with the more celebrated pre-Islamic Zurāra b. 'Udas and his son Ḥājib: see Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, p. 144; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, pp. 152 f., 464, 467–470, 483 f., 569; Wüsten., K 19, and *Register*, p. 196; Abū-l-Fidā, *Hist. Anteisl.*, pp. 144 ff. For the form of the name Zurāra see *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 98 and 128. The *nisba* al-Ḥarīshī seems to be in doubt. The *Lubb al-lubab* gives الحَرَشى from العريش and العريشى from العريشة, as though irregular like عتيك عتكى, سليمة سُليمى; compare Wright, *Grammar*[3], i, p. 155.

was acting as Imām in ar-Raqqa, and he recited, *Then when there is a sounding on the trumpet* [Qur., lxxiv, 8], and fell fainting and died in his *miḥrāb*—may God have mercy on him! And 'Umar heard a man reciting, *Verily the punishment of thy Lord surely descends; there is none to keep it back!* [Qur., lii, 8]. Then he cried with a great cry and fell fainting, and was carried into his house and ceased not to be sick in his house for a month. And Ṣāliḥ al-Marrī recited to Abū Jarīr,[1] and he sobbed and died. And ash-Shāfi'ī heard one reciting, *This shall be a day when they shall not speak and shall not be permitted to excuse themselves* [Qur., lxxvii, 35]; then he fainted. And 'Alī b. al-Fuḍayl heard one reciting, *A day when mankind shall rise up for the Lord of the worlds!* [2] and he fell fainting, and al-Fuḍayl said, "May God repay thee what He has taught him from thee!" And similar stories are transmitted from a number of them.

So, too, is the case with the Ṣūfīs. One night of Ramaḍān ash-Shiblī was in his mosque, and he was praying behind an Imām of his, and the Imām recited, *And, verily, if We willed We would bring to thee him whom We inspired* [Qur., xvii, 88], and ash-Shiblī shrieked a great shriek, the people thought that his soul had fled; his face grew red, and his shoulder muscles quivered, and he kept saying, "With such words He addresses the beloved," repeating that over and over. And al-Junayd said, "I entered one day to Sarī as-Saqaṭī and I saw before him a man who had fainted. Then he said to me, 'This man heard a verse from the Qur'ān and fainted.' And I said, 'Recite to him that same verse,' and it was recited and he recovered. So he said, 'How didst thou come to say that?' I said, 'I considered Ya'qūb, his blindness was on account of a created thing and through a created thing he saw, and if his blindness had been on account of the truth he would not have seen through

[1] The name is Abū Jarīr in the text from which I translate. The SM. gives Abū Hamīm, but adds that other MSS. read Abū Juhaym and Abū 'Umayr. He does not seem to know who is meant, nor do I.

[2] Qur., lxxxiii, 6. The SM. adds that 'Alī died before his father al-Fuḍayl. For al-Fuḍayl see note 5 on p. 248.

a created thing?[1] Then they approved that." And the saying of the poet points to what al-Junayd said:

"And many a cup I drank for the sake of a pleasure;
and I cured myself of that pleasure with another cup."

One of the Ṣūfīs said, "I was reciting one night this verse, *Every soul tastes of death*,[2] and I kept repeating it over. And lo, the voice of a Hātif came to me and said, 'How oft wilt thou repeat that verse? Thou hast killed four of the Jinn; they had not lifted their heads to heaven since they were created.'"[3] And Abū 'Alī al-Maghāzilī[4] said to ash-Shiblī, "Often there strikes my ear a verse from the book of God Most High and drags me to turn from this world; then I return to my former states and to mankind, and do not remain in that." Then he said, "What struck thine ear out of the Qur'ān by which He dragged thee to Himself, that was favour from Him to thee and benignity on His part towards thee, and when He restored thee to thyself that was solicitude on His part for thee, for it is not well for thee but that thou shouldest be free from force and compulsion in advancing to Him." And a man of the people of Ṣūfīism heard one reciting, *O thou soul who art at rest, return unto thy Lord, well pleased, well pleasing* [Qur., lxxxix, 27]. Then he besought the reciter to repeat it and said, "How often do I say to it, 'Return!' and it does not return!" And he constrained himself to an ecstasy and cried with a great cry, and his spirit departed. And Bakr b. Mu'ādh heard one reciting, *And warn them of the day that hastens on* [Qur., xl, 18], with the rest of the verse. Then he was disquieted and thereafter cried, "Have mercy

[1] See the story of Joseph in Sūra xii of the Qur'ān. Jacob lost his sight by weeping for the loss of Joseph, but recovered it when Joseph's inner garment was brought to him and thrown over his eyes.

[2] Occurs in the Qur'an three times, iii, 182; xxi, 36; xxix, 57. For a mystery connected with the threefold occurrence, see the *Durra*, p. 2 of translation.

[3] Out of humility.

[4] Ash-Shiblī d. 334; as to Abū 'Alī I know nothing; there is an Abū Bakr al-Maghāzilī in Jāmī's list of Ṣūfīs. Al-Maghāzilī means a dealer in, or a parer of, spindles.

on him whom Thou hast warned and who did not approach Thee in obedience after the warning!" Then he fainted. And Ibrāhīm b. Adham,[1] when he heard one reciting, *When the heavens are split* [Qur., lxxxiv, 1], his joints were disquieted to such a degree that he quivered. And it is related from Muḥammad b. Ṣabīḥ[2] that he said, "A man was washing in the Euphrates and there passed by him a man on the bank reciting, *Be ye separated to-day, O ye that sin!* [Qur., xxxvi, 59]. Then the man ceased not being disquieted until he sank and died." And it is mentioned that Salmān al-Fārisī[3] beheld a youth reciting, and he came to a verse and his skin bristled. Then Salmān loved him. And he missed him once and asked concerning him, and was told that he was sick. So he went to visit him, and lo, he was at the point of death. Then he said, "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, hast thou seen that bristling of the skin which is in me? for it came to me in a most beautiful form[4] and informed me that God had pardoned me for it every sin."

And, in general, he who has a heart is not free from ecstasy at hearing the Qur'ān; for if the Qur'ān does not make an impression on it at all, then it is *like unto one who cried aloud to what did not hear save a crying and a shouting—deaf, dumb, blind are they, so they understand not* [Qur., ii, 166]. But on him who has a heart,[5] a word of wisdom which he hears makes impression. Ja'far al-Khuldī[6] said, "There entered one day to al-Junayd, with whom there was a company, a man of the people of Khurāsān, and he

[1] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Manṣūr of Balkh. He was a contemporary of Sufyān ath-Thawrī and al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ. Al-Qush. gives almost a page to him, *Ris.*, pp. 9 f. See, too, *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 55.

[2] Abū-l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ṣabīḥ, known as al-Madhkūr and as Ibn as-Sammāk; d. 183. See Ibn Khall., iii, 18, and Abū-l-Maḥāsin, i, 512. Also *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 48.

[3] Abū 'Abd Allāh Salmān al-Khayr al-Fārisī; d. 35 or 36? See an-Naw., pp. 292 ff.

[4] With this personifying of a condition compare the personifying of the Qur'ān, Islām, Friday, etc., in the worlds of *malakūt* and *jabarūt*; see *Life*, p. 116.

[5] The SM. explains "an illuminated heart," but this is al-Ghazzālī's usual phrase for those capable of devout ecstasy.

[6] Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr (or Naṣr) al-Khuldī al-Baghdādī; d. 348. Al-Qush., p. 35.

said to al-Junayd, 'When are of equal account to a creature he who praises him and he who blames him?' And one of the Shaykhs said, 'When he has entered a mad-house and is bound with two chains.' Then said al-Junayd, 'This is not your affair.' Thereupon he turned to the man and said, 'When he is certain that he is created.' Then the man sobbed a great sob and died."

And if you say, "But if hearing the Qur'ān avails for ecstasy, what is their mind who gather together to hear singing from reciters [*qawwālūn*] of poems instead of reciters [*qāri'ūn*] of the Qur'ān? Their gathering together and throwing themselves into ecstasy ought to be in the circles of reciters of the Qur'ān and not in the circles of reciters of poetry. And there ought to be sought by every gathering in every party a reciter of the Qur'ān, and not a reciter of poetry, for the word of God Most High is, without doubt, more excellent than singing." Then know that singing is more powerful than the Qur'ān in arousing to ecstasy for seven reasons. The first reason is that all the verses of the Qur'ān do not fit the state of the listener, and are not suited for him to understand and to apply to what is in close connection with him. Then he over whom rules sorrow or longing or regret, how shall he fit to his state the saying of Him Most High, *God commands you concerning your children, to the male there shall be the like of the share of two females*, and the saying of Him Most High, *And those who accuse virtuous women* [Qur., iv, 12, and xxiv, 4]? And so, too, are all the verses in which are expounded the laws of inheritance and of divorce and restrictive ordinances, etc. That which moves the contents of the heart is only what fit it; and poets compose their verses only to elicit by them states of the heart, so that there should be no need, in understanding the state through them, to use force to arouse longing.

It is true that he over whom rules an overwhelming and all-conquering condition which does not leave room for any other than itself, and he with whom is wideawakeness and quick penetration with which he can grasp ideas only

suggested by the expressions, in such a case as his, his ecstasy sometimes comes on at anything heard, as in the case of him for whom there came on at the reminder by God Most High, *God commands you concerning your children* [Qur., iv, 12 and 175], the thought of the condition of death which makes wills necessary, and that there was no escape for any man from leaving his wealth and his children behind him, which are his two beloved things of this world, and leaving one of them to the other and abandoning both of them; so fear and perturbation overwhelm him. Or, as in the case of him who hears the mention of God in His saying, *God commands you concerning your children*, and he is confused by the bare name apart from what is before it and after it, and there comes upon him the thought of the compassion of God for His creatures and His solicitude, in that He Himself rules the division of inheritances, to care for them in their life and death. So he says, "Since He cares for our children after our death, then we need not doubt that He will care for us"; so there is aroused from him a state of hope, and that brings after it joy and gladness.

Or, from the saying of Him Most High, *to the male there shall be the like of the share of two females*, there comes upon him the thought of the pre-eminence of the male in his being a man over the female, and that men whom trading and selling do not divert from the thought [*dhikr*] of God will have the superiority in the other world, and that they who are diverted by other than God Most High from the thought of God Most High really belong to the class of women and not to that of men. Then he fears that he may be curtained or kept back in the pleasant abode of the other world, even as the female is kept back in the wealth of this world.

And such as these sometimes move ecstasy, but only in him in whom are two qualities; the one of them is a condition, overwhelming, absolute, all-conquering, and the other is an effective penetration and a wideawakeness of the utmost and completest kind to call attention to ideas

that are remote through things that are near. And that is of the rarest; so on that account recourse is had to singing, which consists of expressions fitted to states so closely that the states are aroused as quickly as the expression is heard.

And it is related that Abū-l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī was with a company in a party, and a question in science was discussed among them, but Abū-l-Ḥusayn was silent. Thereafter he lifted up his head and chanted to them—

"Many a cooing pigeon in the early dawn, full of disquietude, has cried among the swaying branches;
She remembered a mate and a time of happiness, and she wept for sorrow and aroused my sorrow.
So my weeping often disquieted her and her weeping often disquieted me.
And, in truth, I would sometimes soothe her yet not make her understand, and she would sometimes complain yet not make me understand;
But I, through emotion, made her perceive, and she also, through emotion, made me perceive."[1]

So he said, and there did not remain one of the people but rose and constrained himself to an ecstasy. And this ecstasy did not result to them from the science in which they were wading, though science is earnestness and truth.

And the second reason is that the Qur'ān is held by most in the memory and is committed to ears and hearts; and whatever is heard for the first time makes a greater impression on the heart, and on the second repetition its impression is weaker, while on the third its impression almost fails. If the possessor of overpowering ecstasy were to strive to bring on his ecstasy by the use of one verse continually on occasions near to one another, within a day or a week, that would not be possible for him. But if he change that verse for another verse the impression on his

[1] These verses are by 'Adī b. ar-Ruqā'; see Ḥarīrī's preface to his *Maqāmāt* and Chenery's translation, i, pp. 106, 274.

heart will be renewed, although the verse may state the same thought. So, if its poetical expression be new as compared with that of the first verse, it will move the soul, although the thought is the same. But the Qur'ān reciter is not able to recite a new Qur'ān on every occasion and in every party; for the Qur'ān is limited and addition to it is not possible, and it is all held in the memory and repeated often. Aṣ-Ṣiddīq pointed to what we have here mentioned when he said, on seeing the Arabs arriving and weeping at the hearing of the Qur'ān, "We were as you are, but our hearts are hard." Yet think not that the heart of aṣ-Ṣiddīq was harder than the hearts of these rough Arabs, or that it was emptier of the love of God Most High and of the love of His word than their hearts, but the repetition upon his heart had produced callousness with regard to it, and he was slightly impressed by it on account of what had befallen him of familiarity through his much listening. For, on account of custom, it is impossible that a hearer should hear a verse that he had not heard before and should weep, and then should keep on weeping on its account twenty years, and after that time should weep at it on its being repeated, and that the first hearing should not differ from the last except in its being strange and new. To every new thing belongs a pleasure, and to every fresh thing belongs an emphasis, and along with everything to which you are accustomed there is a familiarity which hurts the emphasis, and, therefore, was 'Umar anxious to prevent the people from much circuiting of the Ka'ba, and he said, "I fear that the people will despise this House," i.e. will be familiar with it. And he who arrives as a pilgrim and sees the House for the first time, weeps and cries out and often faints when his glance falls upon it. And he sometimes remains in Makka and does not feel a trace of that in his soul. So, then, the singer has at his disposal new verses of poetry for each occasion, but he has not at his disposal for each occasion a new verse of the Qur'ān.

The third reason is that measure in language has a power, through poetic taste, of making impression on the soul.

For a pleasant voice with measure is not like a pleasant voice without measure; and measure is what is found in poetry as opposed to verses of the Qur'ān. And if the singer were to drag the verse which he is chanting or err in it or turn aside from the limit of that *ṭariqa* in the melody, the heart of the listener would be disquieted and his ecstasy and Hearing wasted, and the impression would be scared away on account of the lack of fittingness. And whenever the impression is scared away, the heart is disquieted and distressed. And whenever measure makes an impression, the poetry on that account is pleasant.

The fourth reason is that measured poetry varies as to making impression on the soul with the melodies which are called *ṭarīqas* and *dastānāt*.[1] And the varying of these *ṭarīqas* is only by extending what is shortened and shortening what is extended, and by pause in the intervals of the words and by cutting short and joining on in some of the words. This changing is allowable in poetry, but in the case of the Qur'ān it is only allowable to recite as it was revealed, and shortening and lengthening and pause and cutting off and joining on in opposition to what the recitation requires is forbidden or disliked. So, whenever the Qur'ān is read distinctly as it was revealed, there falls away from it that impressiveness the cause of which is the measure of the melodies; it is a cause that has absolute power in making impression, even if it do not convey a meaning, just as in the case of stringed instruments and pipes and the *shāhīn* and the other sounds which do not convey a meaning.

The fifth reason is that the measured melodies are helped and strengthened by rhythms[2] and by other measured

[1] For *ṭarīqa* see note on p. 220. Here, too, the form appears to be the plural *ṭuruq*. On *dastānāt*, as used here, I can shed no light. The SM. reads (i.e. the Cairo printed text of his commentary does) *dastanīyāt*, and he adds that some MSS. have a variant reading رمحيانات, and that it is a Persian (or foreign) word. In the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* the *dasātīn* (pl. of *dastān*) are the frets on which the fingers are placed in playing the lute. It is also a name for all melodies referred to Bārbud (Istakhrī, p. 262, line 12). Land renders 'ligatures.'

[2] Iqā'āt = rhythms; see *Mafātiḥ*, p. 245.

sounds, apart from those produced by the throat, like the beating of the *qaḍīb* and the *duff* and the rest. For even a weak ecstasy is not aroused except by a powerful cause, and it only becomes strong by a combination of these causes, and each one has a share in the arousing. But it is necessary that the Qur'ān should be protected from such companions as these, for their aspect with the majority of people is an aspect of sport and play; but all the Qur'ān is seriousness with all people. So it is not allowable that there should be mingled with pure truth what is sport according to the commonalty and the external aspect [*ṣūra*] of which is sport according to the select, although they do not view it from the side of its being sport. Yea, it behoves that the Qur'ān should be reverenced and should not be recited on thoroughfares, but in a sitting assembly, and not in a state of sexual impurity, nor in a state of impurity generally. But only those who keep careful guard over their states can attain perfection with regard to the inviolability of the Qur'ān, and he who cannot claim for himself this careful guard and circumspection turns aside to singing. For this reason beating of the *duff* along with the reading of the Qur'ān is not allowable on a night of marriage. Yet the Apostle of God has commanded beating of the *duff* at a marriage and said, "Proclaim the wedding if it be by beating of the *ghirbāl*," or some expression of which that is the meaning.[1] And that is allowable with poetry as opposed to the Qur'ān, and, therefore, when the Apostle of God entered the house of ar-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh,[2] while girls were with

[1] Al-Ghazzālī rightly distrusts his memory. The tradition is given in different forms, but the nearest to that quoted here is given by the SM. and in the *Lisān* (sub *ghirbāl*, xiv, p. 3) as *A'linū-n-nikāḥ waḍribū 'alayhi-l-ghirbāl*, "publish the marriage and beat for it the *ghirbāl*." In al-Ghazzālī's the *ghirbāl* is taken in its original meaning of a sieve; the *Lisān* explains that the word was also used to indicate a *duff* on account of its likeness of form to a sieve.

[2] Ar-Rubayyi' bint Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' al-Anṣārīya, one of those who swore allegiance to the Prophet under the tree in the *Bay'atu-r-riḍwān*. An-Naw., pp. 839 ff.

her singing, and he heard one of them say in the course of her singing,

> "And with us is a Prophet who knoweth what shall be to-morrow";

then he said, "Leave off that and say what thou wast saying." And what she had said bore witness to his prophetship, but he rebuked her for that and brought her back to the singing, which is sport; for such hearing of witness is pure seriousness, and so is not to be joined to the aspect of sport. Then, whenever the strengthening of the causes by which Hearing becomes a mover of the heart is hindered for this reason, i.e., in order to preserve the inviolability of the Qur'ān, what is incumbent is to turn aside from the Qur'ān to singing, even as it was incumbent upon that girl to turn aside to singing from bearing witness to the Prophetship.

The sixth reason is that the singer sometimes sings a verse which does not fit the state of the hearer, so he dislikes it and rejects it and asks another; every saying does not fit every state. But if people agreed at parties upon a reciter of the Qur'ān, often he would recite a verse which did not fit their state. Then, since the Qur'ān is a medicine for the whole of mankind according to their varying states, so the verses of compassion are a medicine for him who is fearful and the verses of punishment are a medicine for the infatuated and the secure, and to adduce all would be tedious; whenever the hearer is not certain whether what is heard will agree with his state and his soul dislikes it, he encounters through it the danger of disliking the word of God Most High, in so far as he does not find a way to put it aside. And that he should guard himself from that danger is the best of good judgment and a necessary conclusion, since he will not find relief from it except by applying it to his condition as it is. And it is not allowable to apply the word of God Most High except to what God Most High intended, but the saying of a poet it is allowable to apply to other things besides what the poet meant. So

in it is the danger of disliking or of erroneous exposition to suit the state, while, on the other hand, it is incumbent to reverence the word of God and to guard it from such danger. This is what has been given to me concerning the causes of turning aside on the part of the Shaykhs to hear singing in place of hearing the Qur'ān.

And here there is a seventh reason which Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj aṭ-Ṭūsī[1] mentioned in defence of this use of poetry. He said: "The Qur'ān is the word of God and one of His qualities; and it is a truth which humanity cannot comprehend, because it is uncreated, and created qualities cannot comprehend it. If a grain of its meaning and its dignity were unveiled to the hearts of men, they would split and be confused and bewildered. But pleasing melodies stand in a relationship to natural dispositions, and their relationship is one of fanciful desires[2] and not of necessary desires. And poetry, again, its relationship is that of fanciful desires. Then, whenever the melodies and sounds are joined with what of signs and subtilties are in the verses, the one of them fit the other and becomes still nearer to fanciful desires and lighter upon the hearts of men, because created is joined to created. Thus, so long as humanity remains, and we through our qualities and fanciful desires take pleasure in mournful tunes and pleasing sounds, our being open and unreserved, for the sake of witnessing the enduring of these fanciful desires towards poems, lies nearer than our being open and unreserved towards the word of God Most High, which is His quality and His word, from Him took beginning and to Him

[1] The SM. says that Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī (d. 248; Ibn Khall., i, 603) gives traditions from him and that he is quoted several times in the *Risāla*. I know nothing more of him.

[2] So I translate tentatively *ḥuẓūẓ* and *ḥuqūq*. As thus used these words belong to the technical language of the Ṣūfīs and, between them, indicate all the things sought by the *nafs*, or fleshly nature, with the distinction that the *ḥuqūq* are the things which are essentially necessary to the existence of the *nafs*, and the *ḥuẓūẓ* are those which are not essentially necessary, which are mere fancies or pastimes. For the classical use of *ḥaẓẓ* see Lane *sub voce*; for the modern in the sense of caprice, pastime, passion, even sin, see Dozy *sub voce*, and De Sacy, *Chrest.*, i, p. 447; for the Ṣūfī use see *Dict. Techn. Terms*, sub *ḥaẓẓ* and *ḥuqūq an-nafs*, and especially, *khaṭra*, vol. i, p. 417, ll. 10 ff.

returns." This is the sum of his meaning and of his defence.

And it has been related from Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Darrāj that he said: "I travelled from Baghdād to Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzi[1] to visit him and salute him. And when I entered ar-Rayy I kept asking about him, and everyone whom I asked about him said, 'What will you with that unbeliever?' And they straitened my breast until I determined to depart. Then I said within myself, 'I have travelled all this road and I will not make little of seeing him.' So I did not cease asking about him until I came upon him in a mosque; he was sitting in the *Miḥrāb* with a man before him, and in his hand was a copy of the Qur'ān and he was reading. And lo, he was an old man, comely and handsome of face and beard. Then I saluted him, and he turned to me and said, 'Whence hast thou come?' And I said, 'From Baghdād.' Then he said, 'And what brought thee?' And I said, 'I have travelled to thee to salute thee.' And he said, 'If in one of those countries a man had said to thee, "Abide with us until we buy thee a house or a slave-girl," would that have withheld thee from coming?' Then I said, 'God did not try me with anything of that kind, and if He had tried me I do not know how it would have been.' Thereupon he said to me, 'Art thou able[2] to repeat anything?' I said, 'Yes,' and he said, 'Give us it.' Then I began saying,

'I saw thee acting constantly in opposition to me, and
werest thou prudent, thou wouldest have destroyed
what thou wast doing.
It is as though I perceived you, with "would that" as
your most excellent saying; *you were saying*, "Oh
would that we were!" when "would that" does not
avail.'[3]

[1] Died 304; al-Qush., p. 28. Rāzī is, of course, the *nisba* of ar-Rayy, the Ῥάγοι of Tobit.

[2] *Atuḥsin an*; a noticeably early case (al-Qush. died 465) of the modern colloquial idiom.

[3] These verses are an interesting example of Ṣūfī manipulation of the most unpromising material. I have translated them from the text of the SM. (vi, p. 560) and with the assistance of the version in the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī and the commentaries upon it by Muṣṭafà al-'Arūsī and Zakarīya al-Anṣārī (vol. iv, p. 140 of ed. of Būlāq, A.H. 1290). The verses as I read them run—

"Ra'aytuka tabnī dā'iman fī qaṭī'ati
Walau kunta dha ḥazmin lahaddamta mā tabnī
Ka'annī bikūm walaytu afḍalu qawlikum
Alā laytanā kunnā idhā-llaytu lā yughnī."

But in the *Aghānī*, vi, 140, we have the original form and environment. They are by the far from pious al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, afterwards Walīd II of the Umayyad dynasty (reigned A.H. 125–126), written by him against his uncle Hishām, who had usurped the throne. For the story at length see Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 152, and for the verses *Aghānī*, loc. cit. I do not think there was any deliberate change on the part of the Ṣūfī reciters. Rather, the changes that have arisen are due to oral transmission. That the verses of al-Walīd directed in anger against his uncle could be so turned as to become words of God addressed to the human soul illumines the possibilities in the interpretation of Arabic poetry.

Then he closed the copy of the Qur'ān and ceased not weeping until his beard and dress were wet, and I had compassion on him for his much weeping. Thereupon he said, 'O my little son, do you blame the people of ar-Rayy saying, "Yūsuf is an unbeliever"? That I am. From the prayer of early dawn I have been reading in the Qur'ān and there has not fallen from my eyes a drop, but the resurrection has come for me at these two lines.'"

So then, although the hearts of men are inflamed with the love of God Most High, yet a new verse will rouse from them what the recital of the Qur'ān does not rouse. That is because of the measure of the poetry and its being in accord with natural qualities; and it is because of its being in accord with natural qualities that human beings have the power of composing poetry. But the composing of the Qur'ān lies outside of the paths and the track of speech, and, on account of that, it is a miracle which does not enter into the power of human beings because of its not being in accord with their nature.[1] It is related that a man came in to Isrāfīl,[2] the teacher of Dhu-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī, and saw him writing on the ground with his finger and singing a verse of poetry. Then Isrāfīl said, "Do you think it right to sing anything?"

[1] A remarkable proof that a Sacred Book requires a human side to exercise its full influence.

[2] Is this Isrāfīl the Shukrān al-'ābid mentioned in Ibn Khall., i, pp. 292, 294? The printed text of the SM. reads Isrā'īl, but Isrāfīl is certainly right. It stands in Jāmī's list of Ṣūfīs.

He said, "No." Isrāfīl said, "Then thou hast no heart." This is a sign that he who has a heart and experiences its natural qualities knows that verses of poetry and musical tones move it with such a moving as is not encountered through other things than them; and so he imposes upon himself this method of moving his heart either by his own voice or that of another.

(*To be continued.*)

Revival of Religious Sciences

(Ihya’ Ulum ad-Din)

On Music & Singing

Emotional Religion in Islam as affected by Music and Singing
being a translation of the Ihya 'Ulm ad-Din of al-Ghazzali with
Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices.

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Art. I.—*Emotional Religion in Islām as affected by Music and Singing.* Being a Translation of a Book of the *Iḥyā ʻUlūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices. By Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford, Conn.

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We have now given the rule of the first stage concerning the understanding what is heard and applying it; and also the rule of the second stage concerning the ecstasy which is encountered in the heart; so let us now give what of it oozes to the outside, consisting of cries and weeping and movements and rending of clothes, etc. So we say

The Third Stage of Hearing Music and Singing.

We will give in it the laws of good conduct related to the hearing of music and singing internally and externally, and what of the traces of ecstasy is praised and what is blamed. The laws of good conduct are five. The first is showing regard for time, place, and company. Al-Junayd said, "Hearing has need of three things, and if they are not there, then do not hear; time, place, and company." His meaning is that there is no advantage in being occupied

with Hearing on an occasion when food is present, or on an occasion of discussion or of prayer, or of anything that turns away from emotion of the heart. This is the meaning of showing regard for time; the hearer shows regard for his condition of emptiness as to the heart. And as for place, sometimes it is the beaten highway or a place whose appearance is disliked or where there is some cause which distracts the heart; so he avoids that. And as for the company, its cause is that, whenever there is present one of a different nature, who dislikes Hearing, externally a devotee, poor in the subtilties of hearts, he is found burdensome to the assembly and the heart is occupied with him. And so, too, when there is present one of the people of this world who magnifies himself, of whom a care must be taken and to whom regard must be shown; or one of the people of Ṣūfiism who strains and feigns ecstasy, being hypocritical in ecstasy and in dancing and in tearing of clothes. All these things are disturbing, and it is fitter that the Hearing should be abandoned in the case of the lack of these three conditions.

The conditions just mentioned are to be considered by the listener; but the second law is a matter to be considered by those who are present. It is that the Shaykh, whenever beginners [*Murīds*] are around him whom Hearing hurts, ought not to listen in their presence, and if he listens, let him occupy them in some other way. The beginner who is hurt by singing is one of three. The lowest of them in rank is he who does not attain in the Path[1] except to external works, and who has no taste for Hearing. So his being occupied with Hearing is his being occupied with what he does not know. For he is not of the people of sport that he should sport, nor of the people of taste that he should enjoy himself in Hearing; so let him be occupied in praising and service, otherwise his time is wasted. The second is he who has taste for Hearing, but in him is a remainder of the fanciful desires [*ḥuẓūẓ*] and a turning to lusts and fleshly qualities, and he is not yet subdued

[1] *Tariqa*; see note in *Life*, p. 89.

with such a subduing that there is safety from his wickednesses. Then, often, Hearing arouses in him a summoner to sport and lust; and so his path is cut off, and his way to perfection is barred. The third is that his lust should have been broken and there be safety from his wickedness, and his perception have been opened and the love of God Most High rule over his heart; but he be not wise in the external part of science, and does not know the names and the qualities of God Most High and what is allowable with regard to Him and what is impossible. Then, whenever the gate of Hearing is opened he applies what is heard to what is allowable and to what is not allowable with regard to God Most High; so his hurt from such thoughts as are unbelief is greater than his advantage from the Hearing. Sahl[1] said, "Every ecstasy to which the Book and the Sunna do not witness is false." And for such a one as this, Hearing is not good, nor for him whose heart is yet soiled with the love of this world and the love of praise and glory, nor for him who listens for the sake of the pleasure and to find delight in the impression. Then that becomes a custom to him and diverts him from his religious duties and from regard for his heart; and his path is cut off. So Hearing is a slippery place for the foot; from it the weak should be kept. Al-Junayd said: "I saw Iblīs in sleep and said to him, 'Dost thou gain the mastery over any of our comrades in anything?' He said, 'Yes, on two occasions; on occasion of Hearing and on occasion of theological speculation [*naẓar*], for I go in to them thereat.'" Then said one of the Shaykhs, "If I had seen him I would have said to him, 'How foolish thou art! One who hears from Him when He hears, and speculates about Him when he speculates, how canst thou gain the mastery over him?'" Then said al-Junayd, "Thou hast spoken truth."

The third law is that he should be attentive to what the speaker says, present in heart, turning aside little, guarding himself from gazing upon the faces of those who are listening and upon what they exhibit of states of ecstasy,

[1] Sahl at-Tustarī; see note 1 on p. 252 (1901).

absorbed in himself and in the guarding of his own heart and in the treasuring of what God Most High opens to him of His mercy in his secret heart, keeping himself from a movement that would disturb the hearts of his comrades. He should be in external rest, still in his extremities, holding himself from coughing or yawning. And he should sit with bent head as he would sit in thought that absorbed his heart, restraining himself from hand-clapping and leaping and the rest of the movements used to work up the emotions and make a hypocritical show, silent in the intervals of the recitation from such conversation as can be avoided. Then if ecstasy overcome him and move him without his volition, he is excusable in regard to it and not blameworthy. But whenever volition returns to him let him return to his stillness and to his repose; it is not incumbent on him that he should seek to prolong his ecstasy out of shame, lest it should be said, "His ecstasy was soon cut short," nor that he should constrain himself to an ecstasy, out of fear, lest it should be said, "He is hard of heart, lacking in purity and softness." It is related that a youth used to accompany al-Junayd, and whenever he heard aught of the mention of God he would cry out. Then al-Junayd said to him, "If you do that another time, you shall not accompany me." And thereafter he kept putting pressure upon himself until from every hair of him there would drip a drop of water, and he did not cry out. And it is related that he choked one day through the force of the pressure upon him and sobbed a single sob, and his heart broke and he died.

And it is related on tradition that Mūsà was telling traditional stories[1] among the Banū Isrā'īl, and one of them rent his dress or his shirt. And God Most High revealed to Mūsà, "Say to him, 'Rend for me thy heart and rend not thy dress.'"[2]

[1] *Qaṣṣa*; on the professional *qaṣṣāṣ* and the practice of *qaṣṣ*, see Goldziher in ZDMG., xxviii, p. 320.
[2] Joel, ii, 13; Moses is a bad shot even for a Muslim, but the whole thing is a good example of Oriental incuriosity.

Abū-l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādhī[1] said to Abū 'Amr b. Najīd,[2] "I say that whenever the people gather together, and there is with them a reciter of poems who recites, it is better for them than that they should talk slander." Then said Abū 'Amr, "Hypocrisy in regard to Hearing—and it is that you should show in yourself a state that is not in you—is worse than that you should talk slander thirty years or thereabouts."

And if you should say, "Is the more excellent he whom Hearing does not move and upon whom it does not make an impression or he upon whom it appears?" Then know that the lack of external appearance is at one time on account of weakness of the visitant [*wārid*] that springs from Hearing, and that is defeat; and at another time it is in spite of strength of ecstasy, but motion does not appear on account of perfect strength in control of the limbs, and that is perfection. And, at another time, it is on account of the state of ecstasy inhering in and being part of all the states. Then an increase of impression does not show itself on occasion of Hearing, and that is the utmost degree of perfection. For the ecstasy of him who has ecstasy in most states does not last, but he who is in a lasting ecstasy is applying himself assiduously and constantly to the Truth, and is clinging to the essence of Witnessing. Then such a one the occurrence of the states does not change. And it is reasonable to suppose that what is pointed to in the saying of aṣ-Ṣiddīq, "We were like you; then our hearts became hardened," is our hearts became powerful and were strengthened, and became able to cling constantly to ecstasy in all states while we are hearing the thoughts of the Qur'ān continually; and the Qur'ān is not new with regard to us nor fresh upon us so that we should be affected by it. So, then, the force of ecstasy moves the external manifestations, and the force of reason and self-restraint controls them, and sometimes the

[1] Abū-l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad an-Naṣrābādhī; d. 369. Al-Qush., p. 36; *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 97.
[2] Abū 'Amr Ismā'īl b. Najīd; d. 366. Al-Qush., p. 36.

one of them overcomes the other either on account of the vehemence of its force or on account of the weakness of what opposes it, and it is defeat or perfection in accordance with that. Then think not that he who throws himself upon the ground in agitation is more perfect as to ecstasy than he who is still and does not agitate himself; yea, often he who is still is more perfect as to ecstasy than he who is in agitation. Al-Junayd, in his novitiate, was wont to be moved through Hearing; then he came not to be moved, and people spoke to him about that. He said, "*And thou seest the hills, thou thinkest them firm, but they shall pass away even as the clouds pass away—a work of God who hath made everything perfect*" [Qur., xxvii, 90]. This points to the fact that the heart may be agitated, circling in the invisible world [*malakūt*], and the limbs externally well disciplined and at rest. And Abū-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[1] said—he was in al-Baṣra—"I companied with Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh sixty years, and I never saw him change at a thing which he heard of mention of God or from the Qur'ān. And when he was at the end of his life a man recited before him, *And on this day there shall not be taken a ransom from you* [Qur., lvii, 14], and the rest of the verse. Then I saw him tremble and almost fall. And when he returned to himself I asked him about that. And he said, 'Yes, my beloved, we have grown weak.' And so, too, one time he heard the saying of Him Most High, *The kingdom on that day shall verily belong to the Compassionate One* [Qur., xxv, 28]; then he was agitated. And Ibn Sālim,[2] one of his companions, questioned him, and he said, 'I have grown weak.' Then they said to him, 'If this springs from weakness, what is strength of state?' He said, 'That there should not come upon one a visitant [*wārid*] without his meeting it with the strength of his state; then the visitants do not change him, although they are powerful.'" And the cause of that strength in controlling

[1] Abū-l-Ḥusayn (so the SM.) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; d. 387. See Ibn Khall., iii, pp. 21 f.

[2] Ibn Sālim; see note 3 on p. 203 (April, 1901).

the external parts in spite of the presence of ecstasy, is equality of the states in constant clinging to witnessing; as it has been related concerning Sahl that he said, "My condition before prayer and after it is one"; for he was a regarder of the heart, present in recollection with God Most High in every state. And thus he was before Hearing, and after it, since his ecstasy was abiding and his thirst enduring and his drinking continuous, inasmuch as Hearing had no effect in increasing his ecstasy, like as it is related that Mimshādh ad-Dīnawarī came upon a company, among whom was a reciter of poems, and they became silent. But he said, "Return to what you were about, for even though you gathered all the musical instruments of the world in my ears, my meditation would not be disturbed, nor would aught appear of what is in me." And al-Junayd said, "Defect of ecstasy does not hurt when there is abundance of science, and abundance of science is more powerful than abundance of ecstasy." But if you say, "Why does such a one as this attend Hearing?" know that some of these abandoned Hearing in the perfection of their strength, and were wont to attend only occasionally in order to assist one of the brethren and to cause joy to enter his heart. And often he would attend that the people might perceive the completeness of his power and know that completeness is not in external ecstasy; then that they might learn from him the control of the external through application, though they might be unable to imitate him in his becoming a model to them. And if their being present fell with other than people of this kind, they were with them with their bodies, but distant from them with their hearts and what is within; just as they might sit, apart from Hearing, with other than their kind for accidental causes which required such sitting with them. Then some copied from these the abandoning of Hearing, thinking that the cause of their abandoning it was that they were able to do without it through what we have mentioned. And some of them belonged to the ascetics, and had no spiritual part [*ḥaẓẓ rūḥānī*] in Hearing, and were not of

the people of sport, and so abandoned it that they might not be distracted through what did not concern them.[1] And some abandoned it for lack of brethren. It was said to one, "Why do you not Hear?" He said, "From whom and with whom?"

The fourth law is that he should not rise up or raise his voice in weeping while he is able to restrain himself. Yet if he dance or force weeping, that is allowable whenever he does not intend hypocrisy by it; for forcing weeping induces grief and dancing is a cause of joy and liveliness. And the moving of every allowable joy is permissible; if it were unlawful 'Ā'isha would not have looked on at the Abyssinians with the Apostle of God while they were 'kicking out.'[2] That is 'Ā'isha's expression in some traditions, and it has been handed down from a number of the Companions that they hopped when a joy befell them which called for that. It is in the story of Ibna Ḥamza[3] when there disputed about her 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his brother Ja'far[4] and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and they contended together jealously as to her rearing. Then the Prophet said to 'Alī, "Thou art of me and I am of thee," and 'Alī hopped; and he said to Ja'far, "Thou resemblest me outwardly and inwardly," and he hopped behind the hopping of 'Alī; and he said to Zayd, "Thou art our brother and our freedman," and he hopped behind the hopping of Ja'far. Then the Prophet said, "She belongs to Ja'far, for her maternal aunt is his wife, and the maternal aunt is the same as the mother." And in

[1] Here al-Ghazzālī and those like him appear to be opposed to simple ascetics. Such ascetics are incapable of higher spiritual life and gain nothing by music and singing; they do not belong to "the people of the heart." Further, they are opposed to recreation and light things generally; not seeing what may be got from them, they consider them vain.

[2] √ZFN. It means in the first instance 'to kick or push with the leg,' and there is a tradition of Fāṭima that she used to do this to al-Ḥasan in the sense of 'dance to him.' The tradition runs, *Kānat tazfinu lil-Ḥasan*; and Lane, *Lexicon*, 1237*c*, so translates it. But in the *Lisan*, xvii, p. 58, l. 13, it is explained with *turaqqiṣuhu*, i.e. 'she would dandle him,' that is, make him dance or leap (*nazzathu*) in her lap. See on this latter sense of ZFN Goldziher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, ii, 164 ff.; he there equates *raqqaṣa* with *zaffana* (in the II stem), but I cannot find in the lexicons anything but the I.

[3] Ibna Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; see an-Naw., p. 867, and Ibn Qut., p. 60, l. 14.

[4] For Ja'far see an-Naw., pp. 192 ff., and note 7 on p. 203; and for Zayd, pp. 260 ff.

a tradition it is said that he said to 'Ā'isha, "Wouldst thou like to look at the kicking out?" and 'kicking out' and 'hopping' are dancing. And that takes place on account of a pleasure or a yearning, and the law applicable to it is the law applicable to that which rouses it. If the pleasure which causes dancing is praiseworthy, and the dancing increases and strengthens it, then the dancing is praiseworthy. And if the one is permissible, then the other is permissible, and if blameworthy, blameworthy. Yet it is true that the practice of dancing does not befit the station of notable people or people who set an example, because, for the most part, it springs from sport and play, and that which has the aspect of play and sport in the eyes of the people should be avoided by him whose actions are imitated in order that he may not become small in the eyes of the people and they should leave off imitating him.

And as to the tearing up of garments, there is no indulgence for it except when the matter passes beyond the control of volition. It is reasonable to suppose that ecstasy may overcome one so that he will tear his garment and yet not know it from the force of the intoxication of ecstasy which is on him. Or he may know it, but he is like one who is constrained and unable to control himself. Then he presents the appearance of one who is forced to do a thing though disliking it; since there is for him in moving or tearing a means of taking breath, and he is forced to it as a sick man is forced to groan. And though he were to impose patience upon himself as to it, he would not be able to control it in spite of its being a free-will action. For man is not able to abandon every action whose occurrence depends upon intention; taking breath is an action whose occurrence depends upon intention, but if a man imposed upon himself that he would hold breath he would be compelled from within him to will taking breath. So, too, is crying out; and tearing of garments sometimes happens in this way; then it is not to be described as forbidden. They spoke in the presence of as-Sarī of the occurrence of extreme overwhelming ecstasy, and he said, "Yes, the face

of one may be struck with a sword and he not know it." Then they disputed with him about it and found it strange that ecstasy should reach such a point, but he persisted and would not abandon his view that in some states this point was sometimes reached by some individuals.

And if you ask, "Then what do you say as to the tearing of new garments on the part of Ṣūfīs after the ecstasy has subsided and the Hearing is over, for they tear them in little pieces and distribute them to the people and call them *khirqa*?"[1] Know that that is permissible whenever it is torn into square pieces useful to patch garments and prayer-carpets for the *kirbās*[2] is torn up that the *qamīṣ* may be sewn together from it. And that is not waste, for it is tearing for a purpose. So, too, the patching of garments is only possible by means of little pieces, and that is an object; and the dividing to the multitude that the benefit may be general is an allowable object. Every king is required to divide his *kirbās* into one hundred pieces and give to one hundred poor people,[3] but it is necessary that the pieces shall be such that they can be made useful in patching. And in Hearing we prevent only that tearing which spoils the garment, destroying part of it so that it does not remain capable of use. That is pure waste, and is not lawful when it happens by free will.

The fifth law of good breeding is agreement of the people

[1] The *khirqa* means first a rag or scrap of cloth, and secondly the mantle of a darwish. It seems to be applied to the mantle as made up of such shreds patched together. The tearing up and distributing is to distribute the blessing that is supposed to cleave to them from having been worn by someone in an especially blessed state. So the garments of saints acquire miraculous powers; compare Elijah's mantle.

[2] The SM. describes the *kirbās* as a rough thick garment. But that is not at all suitable here, and the other and common meaning of *kirbās*, a piece of cotton cloth, is much better. See Lane, *sub voce*, and especially the *Lisān*, viii, pp. 75 f., where a tradition is quoted speaking of a *qamīṣ*, or shirt, made of *karābīs*, the plural of *kirbās*.

[3] As a garment the *kirbās* is Persian, and we have probably here a Persian custom. I know nothing of it, and the SM., of course, gives no explanation. But compare the seizing, tearing to pieces, and distribution of the pieces of the *jubba* of the *khaṭīb* who pronounces the *khuṭba* at the Mi'raj festival in modern Mecca. It is described by Snouck-Hurgronje in his *Mekka*, ii, pp. 71 f. He refers to the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1888, p. 112, where it is described how the Riff Arabs similarly tear to pieces the *burnūs* of the Sulṭān.

in rising up when one of them rises up in a true ecstasy without hypocrisy and strives; or rises up by choice without exhibiting ecstasy, and the company rises up to him. For there must be agreement because agreement belongs to the laws of comradeship. So, too, if it is the custom of a party to throw off the turban in agreement with him who is in ecstasy whenever his turban falls off, or to pull off garments whenever his garment has fallen off him through tearing, then agreement in these things belongs to good comradeship and social intercourse, since disagreement is churlishness and every people has a usage of its own. We must "consort with people according to their qualities"—as has come down in the tradition—especially when they are qualities containing good-fellowship and courteous treatment and soothing of the heart with help. And someone may say, "Lo, that is an innovation [*bid'a*]; the Companions did not do so." But everything judged allowable is not derived from the Companions. What is to be guarded against is committing an innovation which abandons a Sunna handed down from one to another; but forbidding a thing is not to be deduced from this. Rising up on the entrance of anyone was not a custom of the Arabs; yea, the Companions did not rise up for the Apostle of God under some conditions, as Anas has narrated.[1] But since there is not established a general prohibition of it, we do not see any harm in it in those countries where it is a custom to honour him who enters by standing up; for its object is to show respect and to honour and to soothe the heart. So, too, it is with the other kinds of help when they have as object to soothe the heart and are adopted as usage by a company of people. Then there is no harm in their helping in these; yea, the best of things is help, except in a thing with regard to which there has come down a direct prohibition, insusceptible of explanation [*ta'wīl*].

And it belongs to good breeding that no one should arise

[1] On not rising to meet visitors as a *sunna*, cf. the life of 'Alī b. Maymūn in ZDMG., xxviii, p. 300. 'Alī refused to rise to meet anyone, as he was a zealous upholder of *sunna* in all details.

to dance with people if his dancing is considered sluggish and inert, lest he should disturb their states for them. For dancing without ecstasy is allowable, and a striver to show ecstasy is one in whom the trace of straining is evident to the company. And in the case of him who rises up in sincerity, whom you would not think sluggish and inert in nature, the hearts of those present, if they are possessors of hearts, are a touchstone of sincerity and of straining. One of them was asked concerning sound ecstasy, and he said, "Its soundness is the acceptance of it by the hearts of those present when they are likes and not opposites." [1]

Then if you say, "But what about that disposition which turns aside from dancing, does it rush erroneously to its opinion that dancing is lying, vain, and contrary to the Faith, while he that is vehement in the Faith never sees dancing without blaming it?" then know that there is no vehemence that is greater than the vehemence of the Apostle of God, and he saw the Abyssinians kicking out in the Mosque and did not blame what they were doing, because it was at a suitable time, that is, a time of Festival, and on the part of suitable individuals, that is, Abyssinians. It is true that some dispositions turn aside from it, because it is seen for the most part in combination with vanity and play, and vanity and play are allowable, but only for the common people of the Zanj and Abyssinians and their like, while they are disliked in those who are notable people because they do not befit them. But it is not lawful to describe as forbidden what is disliked because it does not befit the position of a person of note. If one asked a poor man for something, and he gave him a cake of bread, that would be a praiseworthy gift; but if he asked a king and he gave him a cake of bread or two cakes of bread, that would be blameworthy in the sight of all men and would be written

[1] The sense apparently is that the dancer in an ecstasy (*wajd*) is light and brisk in his movements, but he who is trying to bring on an ecstasy (*mutawājid*) is heavy and clumsy. The sincerity of the *mutawājid* can only be judged by the insight of those present.

in books of history as of the number of his evil deeds, and his posterity and adherents would be upbraided with it. But, in spite of that, it is not lawful that what he did should be forbidden, since he, inasmuch as he gave bread to the poor man, was beneficent, but inasmuch as, in relation to his position, it was like refusing in relation to the poor man, his action is to be considered vile. So, too, it is with dancing and the class of permissible things that follow the same rule. "The permissible deeds of common people are the evil deeds of pious people, and the good deeds of pious people are the evil deeds of archangels." [1] But this is when we take account of relationship to different positions, and whenever the thing is looked at as it is in itself, the sentence must be passed that in it, as it is in itself, there is nothing forbidden—and God knows best.[2]

It follows from all that has preceded, sectionwise, that listening to Music and Singing is sometimes absolutely forbidden and sometimes permissible and sometimes disliked and sometimes to be loved. It is forbidden to the most of mankind, consisting of youths and those whom the lust of this world controls so that Music and Singing arouse in them only that which has control of their hearts, consisting of blameworthy qualities. And it is disliked with reference to him who, it is true, does not apply it to the form of created things, but in whose case a habit which he has leads him on most occasions on the path of vain sport. And it is allowed with reference to him who has no delight in it except the taking pleasure in beautiful sounds. And it is loved with reference to him whom the love of God Most High controls and in whom Music and Singing arouse only praiseworthy qualities. The Praise belongeth to God alone, and His Benediction be upon Muḥammad and his Family!

[1] The often quoted saying of Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; see on him note 2 on p. 713 (1901).

[2] This phrase generally implies some grain of doubt in the mind of its user as to the correctness of what he has just said. But the SM. notes that here it is used *lit-tabarruk*, for the sake of gaining a blessing, i.e., al-Ghazzālī had no doubt as to the truth of his conclusion, but added the formula on general principles.

APPENDIX I.

Chronological Table.

In the following table the life of al-Ghazzālī is exhibited in outline as a part of the history of his time. For a fuller statement of his life and views, I would refer to my article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. xx, 1899, pp. 71–132. The sketch which I give here can only be suggestive, but its suggestiveness can hardly be exaggerated. A year before the birth of this man, who was to be the restorer of faith in his age, died Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, the great and only poet of scepticism in Arabic literature. In the year itself of his birth died al-Māwardī, the master of constitutional law; in his lifetime al-Ghazzālī was to see the empire of the Seljuqs shrivel up and the Khālifate move nearer to its end. When he was fifteen died al-Qushayrī, who had done so much to formulate Ṣūfīism; he was to carry on his work. In his earliest youth had fallen the momentous exile of Abū-l-Ma'ālī at Mecca, and the death of the same in 478 was a turning-point in his life. A year later, while he was with Niẓām al-Mulk, the battle of az-Zalāqa in Spain marked an epoch in the history of the Muslim West. Again, two years later, Nāṣir b. Khusrū died, poet, traveller, philosopher; he stands beside al-Qushayrī and 'Umar Khayyām for different phases of the mysticism and thought of the time. But a little later again—al-Ghazzālī was still with Niẓām al-Mulk—Islām received two great blows; Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ seized Alamūt, and the power of the Assassins stood firm for a century and a half until the Mongol wave under Hūlāgū swept unchecked to the Mediterranean; in the same year Malta was taken by the Normans, never to be held again by Islām. Now events crowd on, in all of which al-Ghazzālī had some part or with which he had some connection. Niẓām al-Mulk and Mālik Shāh fall under the dagger; the Assassins are showing their teeth. The unending civil war that marks the decadence of a Muslim state appears; Bargiyāruq becomes Great Seljuq. Jerusalem is lost, first to the Fāṭimids, and by them to the Crusaders; the first Crusade has begun. In the year of its fall passes away, too, that hammer of Islām and Christendom alike, El Cid Campeador. In 504 dies al-Kiyā, an old fellow-pupil, and, in the eyes of many of his time, a greater scholar; a year more and al-Ghazzālī himself ends his short and troubled life: posterity has long since settled what place each shall hold. He had seen the star of the Murābiṭ empire rise and wax; if he had lived out the ordinary life of man he might have seen it wane. Nineteen years after him died Ibn Tūmart, the Mahdī of the Muwaḥḥids. Another fourteen years and az-Zamakhsharī went his way, often and wrongly called the last of the Mu'tazilites; their creed in differing forms survived for many a long year the polemic of al-Ghazzālī. In the field of letters he had as contemporaries, more or less, al-Jawālīqī the lexicographer, Nāṣir b. Khusrū and 'Umar Khayyām, al-Bakrī the geographer, aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī the learned scribe, wazīr, and *soi-disant* poet (has not his Lāmīyatu-l-'Ajam enjoyed more European editions than any other piece of Arabic verse?), al-Ḥarīrī, the master of ornate prose and artificial verse, and al-Maydānī of the proverbs. But a little after him died al-Baghawī, who first redacted the Tradition Books of the Six into practical and edifying form, and ash-Shāhrastānī, who has laid before us with rare objectivity the religious world of his day and horizon. It was an age of summing up; of compendiums and systems. Meanwhile, in Europe, Hastings is lost and won when al-Ghazzālī has seen eight years; Hildebrand is running his great career and nourishing his vast dreams; he loves righteousness and hates iniquity, and dies in exile in the same year that the Imām al-Ḥaramayn passes tranquilly away in the circle of his disciples. Berengerius and Lanfranc confront one another while al-Ghazzālī is wrestling with the theology of the schools and raising the clouds that

are to overshadow his faith. But as he passes from under the shadow a new life springs in Europe as well. Anselm, the father of scholasticism, has died, and the university of Bologna is founded; Abelard teaches at Paris; we pass from the *Cur Deus Homo* to the *Sic et Non*. In Abelard there is much to remind us of al-Ghazzālī—his keen questioning and sceptical mind; but there is more in his great opponent, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, with his faith, his yearnings upward, and his raptures. If we can conceive of an Abelard developing into a Bernard, we have the life of al-Ghazzālī. Such was the Europe of which the Muslim knew nothing; he could have known Christendom only under shield on the plains of Syria.

449. Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī d.
450. *Al-Ghazzālī born at Ṭūs*: al-Qā'im being Khalīfa; Tughril Beg, Great Seljuq; al-Mustanṣir, Fāṭimid Khalīfa. Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī d. al-Māwardī d.
452. Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī d.
Exile of Imām al-Ḥaramayn at Mecca; lasted till 456.
455 (*5*).
[458. Battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066.]
460 (*10*).
465 (*15*). 465–485. Mālik Shāh, Great Seljuq; al-Qushayrī d.; al-Jawālīqī d. *Al-Gh. at Ṭūs, Jurjān, Ṭūs, Naysābūr till* 478.
467. Al-Muqtadī Khalīfa.
[Submission to Pope at Canossa, A.D. 1076.]
Investigation of theological differences began when he was under 20; *broke with* taqlīd *from earliest youth.*
470 (*20*).
[Berengerius and Lanfranc.]
475 (*25*).
477. Al-Fārmadī, pupil of al-Qushayrī and teacher of al-Gh. in Ṣūfiism, d.
478. Imām al-Ḥaramayn d. Rab. ii; *al-Gh. goes to attend Niẓām al-Mulk.* [Hildebrand d. A.D. 1085.]
479. Battle of az-Zalāqa in Spain.

480 (*30*). 480–500. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn al-Murābiṭ.
481. Nāṣir b. Khusrū d.
Scepticism ?
Studied theology ?
483. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ seizes Alamūt.
[Malta taken by the Normans, A.D. 1091.]
484. *Appointed to teach in Madrasa at Baghdād. Almost three years studying philosophy; beginning* 483 *to beginning* 487 ?
485 (*35*). Niẓām al-Mulk assassinated Ramaḍān 10. Thirty-five days thereafter Mālik Shāh assassinated.
487. Al-Mustaẓhir Khalīfa Muḥ. 15; Bargiyāruq Great Seljuq; al-Musta'lī Fāṭimid Khalīfa; *al-Gh. studied Ta'līmites and wrote the Mustaẓhirī*; al-Bakrī, the geographer, d.
488. *Left Baghdād in Dhū-l-Qa'da after delay of six months, i.e. from Rajab.*
In Syria almost two years, i.e. to end of 490; *Damascus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Mecca, Medina.*
490 (*40*). Sinjar Governor of Khurāsān for his brother Bargiyāruq; Abū-l-Fatḥ Naṣr al-Maqdisī d.
491. Capture of Antioch by Crusaders; Jerusalem taken by Fāṭimids from Seljuqs.
492. Sha'bān, capture of Jerusalem by Crusaders. [Death of the Cid, A.D. 1099.]
495 (*45*). *Ten years passed in retreat at different places; wrote* Iḥyā *and other books; was preacher at Baghdād and taught* Iḥyā; al-Āmir Fāṭimid Khalīfa.
498. Bargiyāruq d. Rab. ii.
499. *Al-Gh. returns to active life at Naysābūr in Dhū-l-Qa'da.*
500 (*50*). 500–537. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Murābiṭ; Fakhr al-Mulk assassinated, Muḥ. 10; al-Khawāfī d.; *al-Gh. writes* Munqidh *after* 500.
[University of Bologna ?]
[Anselm d. A.D. 1109.]
504. Al-Kiyā d.

505 (*55*). *Al-Gh. d. Monday*, 14 *Jumādā II.*
507. Abū Bakr ash-Shāshī d.
[Abelard at Paris, A.D. 1115.]
510. Ash-Shāhrastānī in Baghdād.
511–552. Sinjar Great Seljuq.
512. Al-Mustarshid Khalīfa.
[Order of Knights of the Temple founded, A.D. 1118.]
515. ʿUmar al-Khayyām d.; aṭ-Ṭughrāʾī d.
516. Al-Ḥarīrī d.; al-Baghawī d.
518. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ d.; al-Maydānī d.
520. Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī d.; aṭ-Ṭarṭūshī d.
524. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Fāṭimid Khalīfa; Ibn Tūmart d.
525. [Bernard of Clairvaux flourished.]
528. Ash-Shāhrastānī d.
529. Ar-Rāshid Khalīfa; ʿAbd al-Ghāfir d.
530. Al-Muqtafī Khalīfa.
533. As-Salmī d.
538. Az-Zamakhsharī d.

APPENDIX II.

The Name al-Ghazzālī.

The name is at present usually written in the East, al-Ghazzālī; but since the publication of Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary, in which (vol. i, p. 80, of de Slane's translation) it seems to be asserted that Ibn as-Samʿānī in his *Ansāb* wrote al-Ghazālī, Western Arabists have inclined to follow his authority. Added to this there was other evidence, stray references, notes on the margin of manuscripts, and the like; see Flügel in ZDMG., xvi, 691; Fleischer's notes in *Cat. codd. MSS. orr. bibl. reg. Dresd.*, p. 94, and *Cat. libb. MSS. bibl. sen. Lips.*, p. 366. The publication of the *Tāj al-ʿArūs* by the Sayyid Murtaḍà, and of his commentary on

the *Iḥyā*, has, however, added much to the evidence, and somewhat changed its bearing.

In the *Tāj* (vol. viii, p. 44, ll. 19 ff.) the SM. writes:—"Ghazāla is one of the villages of Ṭūs, it is said. And to it is referred the *nisba* of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, according to an-Nawawī's statement in the *Tibyān*. But Ibn al-Athīr said that the form with *takhfīf* is not the known form, and he approved of *tashdīd* in it. And it is referred as a *nisba* to *ghazzāl*, a seller of spun yarn; or it is related to *al-ghazzāl* according to the usage of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān, as *al-ʿaṣṣārī* is related to *al-ʿaṣṣār*. As-Subkī and Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Shuhba spread that view."

Here there is no mention of Ibn as-Samʿānī. An-Nawawī (d. 676) spells with one *z*, and refers to this asserted village. Ibn al-Athīr (ʿIzz ad-Dīn, the author of the *Lubāb*, the basis of as-Suyūṭī's *Lubb al-lubāb*, d. 630), on the other hand, prefers *tashdīd*. Then Ibn as-Subkī (the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, d. 771), Ibn Khallikān (d. 681), and Ibn Shubba (Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Bakr, d. 850) spread the view that *ghazzālī* was to be explained by the custom of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān to use the measure *faʿʿālī* instead of *faʿʿāl*. Evidently in the SM.'s copy of Ibn Khallikān there was no mention of as-Samʿānī; it is only in the autograph manuscript, and there as a marginal note.

In the introduction to the commentary on the *Iḥyā* (vol. i, p. 18) there is a section on this *nisba*:—"The author of the *Tuḥfa al-Irshād* says, deriving from an-Nawawī in the *Daqāʾiq ar-Rawda*, '*Tashdīd* in al-Ghazzālī is the known form which Ibn al-Athīr mentioned, but it has reached us that he (i.e. an-Nawawī) said that it was a *nisba* to Ghazāla with *takhfīf*, one of the villages of Ṭūs.' I (the SM.) say that so an-Nawawī mentions it also in the *Tibyān*. And adh-Dhahabī (d. 748) said in the *ʿIbar*, and Ibn Khallikān in the *Taʾrīkh*, that it was a custom of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān to say *al-qaṣṣārī* and *al-ḥabbārī* with *ya* in both; so they referred the *nisba* to *ghazl*, and said *al-ghazzālī*, and like that is *ash-shaḥḥāmī*. Ibn as-Samʿānī (d. 562) also pointed

to that and denied the *takhfīf*, and said, 'I asked the people of Ṭūs concerning this village and they denied its existence; the addition of the *ya*, they said, was for strengthening.' And according to the annotation of some of our shaykhs it is to distinguish between a *nisba* referring to the trade itself and a *nisba* referring to someone whose trade it was. This is plain in the case of al-Ghazzālī, for he was not of those who span wool and sold it; that was only the trade of his father and grandfather. But in the *Miṣbāḥ* (finished 734) of al-Fayyūmī is a statement that defends *takhfīf* and involves that Ghazāla is a village in Ṭūs, and that the *nisba* of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid refers to it. He says, 'That was related to me by the shaykh Majd ad-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Abī-ṭ-Ṭāhir Sharwānshāh b. Abī-l-Faḍā'il Fakhrāwar b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sitt al-Munā (?) bint Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī at Baghdād in the year 710. He said to me, "The people have erred in writing our ancestor's name with *tashdīd*; it is *mukhaffaf* only."' And ash-Shihāb al-Khafājī said at the end of the *sharḥ* on the *Shifā*, 'It is said that the *nisba* refers to Ghazāla, daughter of Ka'b al-Aḥbār.' If this is sound there is no escaping it. But the opinion generally depended upon now among the later writers of history and the genealogists is that Ibn al-Athīr is in the right, i.e. that it is with *tashdīd*."

At last the question was settled as questions are apt to be settled in Islām. Al-Aydarūs, a shaykh of the SM., drew attention to the fact that the Prophet, seen in a dream, had pronounced the name with double *z*. The SM. only alludes to this story here, but in the tractate of al-Aydarūs referred to elsewhere (*Life*, p. 109) it is given on the margin of SM., i, p. 29. It was the shaykh Abū-l-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī[1] who saw the Prophet boasting of al-Ghazzālī to Mūsà and 'Īsà, and asking them if there was his like as a doctor in their flocks. After that there could be no more doubt; compare the story of the head of al-Ḥusayn given by Lane in *The Modern Egyptians* (chap. ix) and Lane's remark.

[1] D. 656: ZDMG., vii, 13 ff.; lii, 557, note. He was a native of Shādhila in North Africa, and founded the Shādhiliya order of darwishes.

Here the oldest evidence is that of as-Sam'ānī, who also knew the ground at first-hand. It is evident that in his time the two forms were current, and that the two explanations were: (1) that it was from *ghazl* on the measure *fa''ālī* used by the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān for *fa''āl*; and (2) that it was from Ghazāla, a village of Ṭūs. As-Sam'ānī, however, working on the spot, could find no trace or recollection of such a village; and it should be remembered that he died only fifty-seven years after al-Ghazzālī. Nor can I find in the geographers the slightest reference to such a Ghazāla. It is true that Ṭūs consisted of a complex of villages, and that the name of one might have been little prominent; but still it could hardly have escaped as-Sam'ānī's researches. But that it referred to this village, Ghazāla, was also the tradition in the family of Abū Ḥāmid. This is a very important fact and is unexceptionally vouched for. Further, we have seen that the grand-uncle was also known under the same *nisba*. Is it possible that the *nisba* to a village Ghazāla was introduced into the family several generations back and continued in use after the village had disappeared, and that the origin of the *nisba* was forgotten except by those best informed? Then people may have begun to pronounce the name with *tashdīd*, and explain it as a case of the measure *fa''ālī* for *fa''āl*. In any case it is to be noticed that while as-Sam'ānī shows that the pronunciation with one *z* existed in his day, he cannot be quoted as approving of it. In Ibn Khallikān the passage which is supposed to involve that is a marginal insertion in the autograph, and runs literally: *lakinna hādha qālahu-s-Sam'ānīyu fī kitābi-l-ansāb wa-llāhu a'lam*; apparently it has been inserted in the wrong place.

But the question is again complicated by the fact that there are several others with the same *nisba* as our family of Ṭūs. The SM. says (i, p. 19) that it was the general opinion that there were no others, but that he had himself found two and then a third. One of them was 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāhid, the faqīh, Abū-l-Manṣūr al-Ghazzālī. He studied *Fiqh* with al-Kiyā, and traditions

are handed down from him by the ḥāfiẓ Abū-ṭ-Ṭāhir as-Salafī. He died 513. The second was ʻAlī b. Maʻṣūm b. Abī Dharr Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzālī. He was a Maghribite and a Shāfiʻite, was born in 496, and died in Isfarāīn in 555. The third was of later date, al-ʻAlā ʻAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, the author of the *Mīzān al-istiqāma li-ahli-l-qurb wal-karāma*. He died 721. Further, I find that some have alleged the existence of a Maḥmūd al-Ghazzālī, a Muʻtazilite, who was author of the *Manḥūl* instead of Abū Ḥāmid; this, because of the railing accusations brought against Abū Ḥanīfa in the *Manḥūl*.[1] It seems hard to believe that all these sprang from this vanished village of Ṭūs.

Such are the facts so far as I can find them, but they do not guide me to any certain result. I have, therefore, used the form al-Ghazzālī as that which eventually won its way to universal acceptance in the East.

[1] *Al-khayrāt al-ḥisān fī manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, p. 4 of ed. of Cairo, 1304. See also *Life*, p. 106.

ANALYSIS.

Title of Book. Ascription of praise to God as the enchainer of the hearts of His Saints and Blessing on Muḥammad. Statement that Music and Singing are a means of eliciting what is truly present in the heart; under their influence the heart reveals itself and what it contains. This book will be in two chapters—(I) The lawfulness of listening to Music and Singing, and (II) Their laws and effects on the heart and body (pp. 198–200).[1]

Chapter I.

§ 1 (pp. 200–207).

Statements of the learned opining that such listening is unlawful (pp. 200–202), and, on the contrary, that it is lawful (pp. 202–207). But these openly contradict one another. It is plain that thus, through attaching ourselves to authority, we can get no certainty. We must examine, rather, the legal sources of prohibition and permission (p. 207).

§ 2 (pp. 207–244).

A proof that listening to Music and Singing is allowable. A proof that it is unlawful must base on statute, i.e. what Muḥammad said or did, or on analogy from statute. But it will be shown that no such statute or analogy exists, and that statute and analogy rather indicate allowableness (pp. 207–208).

Listening to Music and Singing is hearing a sound, pleasant, measured, with a meaning, moving the heart. But hearing a pleasant sound is not unlawful (pp. 208–210);

[1] Up to the middle of p. 27 the page references are to this Journal for 1901.

nor is it if measure be added (pp. 210–211). Yet certain instruments are expressly excepted by statute because they have been associated with drinking customs. So, too, if anyone especially connects Singing and Music with drinking, and is through them led astray, listening is unlawful for him. Thus a distinction is to be made between some musical instruments and others; and those that are forbidden are not forbidden because they give pleasure but because of association (pp. 211–215). Nor can the addition of a meaning to the pleasing, measured sound make it unlawful, always presupposing that the meaning itself is lawful (p. 215). There are many traditions that the Prophet listened to poetry (pp. 215–217). Strange effect on the mind of simple Music apart from words bearing a meaning (p. 218); story of camels (pp. 219 f.). Nature of impression varies with circumstances and persons. Seven purposes for which Singing can be used—(1) To incite to pilgrimage (p. 220). But it is not lawful to incite to go on pilgrimage those for whom pilgrimage is unlawful (p. 221). (2) To urge to warfare under the same conditions of lawfulness (pp. 221–222). (3) To excite courage on the day of battle (p. 222). (4) To rouse to lamentation or sorrow, blameworthy or praiseworthy according to the sorrow (pp. 222–223). (5) To arouse joy. Many traditions that the Prophet regarded that as allowable (pp. 223–228). (6) To arouse love and longing—conditions when Music and Singing for this purpose are allowable (pp. 228–229). (7) To arouse the love of God. Then are aroused States, i.e. Revelations and Caressings, unknowable except by experience. These bring after them further Visions, but how that happens is the secret of God (pp. 229–230). How love and passionate love (*'ishq*) can be felt for God. How great is His perfection and how great should be the passion for Him! The love of God the only true love, and the term 'passion' only applicable to Him (pp. 231–234).

In what cases is listening to Music and Singing unlawful? Five cases: (1) If the producer of Music be a woman under certain conditions (pp. 235–236). (2) The instruments used: some are expressly prohibited (p. 237). (3) The content of what is sung: is satire allowable? is love-poetry allowable? (pp. 237–238). How the heart applies the expressions heard to God and to intercourse with Him: examples (pp. 238–239). To him who loves God and can thus apply what he hears, listening to Music and Singing is recommended (p. 239). (4) If lust have control over the listener, listening is unlawful for him (pp. 239–240). (5) If anyone love listening to Music for its own sake and give too much time to it, that is unlawful for him. For its own sake it is allowable only as a recreation (pp. 240–241). Thus Music and Singing are generally lawful, but unlawful under certain conditions (pp. 241–242). The school of ash-Shāfi'ī does not pronounce them unlawful; it only pronounces professionalism unlawful (pp. 242–244).

§ 3 (pp. 244–252).

The arguments of those who pronounce against Music and Singing and the answer to them. Passages from the Qur'ān and tradition so alleged and their true explanation (pp. 244–250). A general defence of play as a rest and recreation (pp. 251–252).

Chapter II.

Effects of Music and Singing and Laws of Polite Conduct with regard to them. There are three stages: understanding what is heard and applying it; ecstasy; movements of members of the body (p. 705). Stage I. Understanding and applying (pp. 705–718). (1) Simple physical hearing as that of an animal is allowable (p. 705). (2) Hearing and applying to the form of a creature, unallowable (p. 705). (3) Hearing of the *Murīd*. He, especially as a beginner, hears and tries to get experiential knowledge of God in his hearing. He takes over and applies to his intercourse with God the expressions which he hears without considering what the poet had meant (pp. 706–707). Examples of this

and of the ecstasy that it excites (pp. 707–709). To do this safely he must know well the law of the knowledge of God. Otherwise he is in danger of ascribing things to God which are impossible and of being an unbeliever (pp. 709–710). Some in hearing Music and Singing go so far as to blame God for His distribution of ecstasy and His treatment of creatures in His predestining them; this is a great danger (pp. 710–712). Listeners vary in their understanding of the same verses, and all the ways of understanding them may be equally right: examples (pp. 712–715). Hearing on the part of him who is oblivious to himself and only conscious of God. Description of his state. Only comes in flashes; its consequences sometimes death from the agitation involved (pp. 715–717). This is the highest degree. The nature of the heart in the spiritual sense and how it perceives. From this degree develop the errors of Pantheistic Ṣūfīs and Trinitarians (p. 718). Stage II. Ecstasy (pp. 719–748). Its nature as given in various sayings of the Ṣūfīs (pp. 719–721), also in statements of philosophers (pp. 721–722). An attempt at a definition of ecstasy as the result produced in the soul by hearing Music and Singing. It may be by way either of knowledge or of feeling. If it expresses itself outwardly it is ecstasy, and varies in force in itself and in proportion to the self-control of him who is hearing (pp. 722–723). It produces purity of heart and alacrity. How truth may be communicated to a pure heart—by a Hātif, by dreams, by al-Khaḍir, by angels to prophets (pp. 723–725). Insight produced by this purity of heart: anecdotes (pp. 725–727). The result of ecstasy divides into what can be expressed in language and what can not. This is not strange: we all know ideas and states of feeling which we cannot express in words—especially the feelings excited by instrumental music (pp. 728 – 730). The difference between ecstasy and the affecting of ecstasy. The latter blameworthy or praiseworthy (p. 730). The path to ecstasy lies often through effort and application (p. 731), or by companionship (p. 732). But why should poetry be used to excite

ecstasy and not the Qur'ān? (p. 732). The Qur'ān does excite it: examples (pp. 733–737). But Singing is more powerful for seven reasons (p. 738):—(1) All verses of the Qur'ān do not suit the state of the listener, e.g. legislative verses. Some can be affected by such verses, but that is rare (pp. 738–740). (2) The Qur'ān is known too well, and what is heard for the first time makes a heavier impression (pp. 740–741). (3) Poetry has the advantage of measure (pp. 741–742). (4) The Qur'ān must be recited simply and distinctly without varying to make measure, etc. (p. 742). (5) It is unallowable to accompany the Qur'ān with instrumental music: in other ways also the Qur'ān has to be guarded against profanation (pp. 742 – 744). (6) If the sense of a verse of the Qur'ān does not fit the hearer, he must either pervert its sense or reject it—both are sins (pp. 744–745). (7) The Qur'ān is the uncreated word of God, and has no link of connection with humanity; therefore poetry makes a stronger impression on the sensuous nature. Thus poetry affects men when the Qur'ān cannot. It is in accord with our human nature, and the Qur'ān is not. Therefore men can write poetry, but cannot produce another Qur'ān. It is a miracle (pp. 745–748). Stage III. What shows itself externally of ecstasy and of the laws of good conduct in ecstasy (pp. 1–13). The laws are five:—(1) Regard for time, place, and company (pp. 1–2). (2) The Shaykh should not hear in presence of *Murīds* whom it hurts (p. 2). These are of three classes: (*a*) Those who attain to external works only. (*b*) Those who have still some passions and lusts. (*c*) Those who are ignorant of theology and therefore apply wrongly (pp. 2 – 3). (3) Attention to what the speaker says and avoidance of distraction (p. 3). The hearer should put pressure on himself and only give way to ecstasy when he cannot help it (p. 4). Lack of external ecstasy may be weakness of ecstasy, but may also be strength on the part of the hearer: examples of such self-restraint. He who is always beholding God does not yield to external ecstasy (pp. 5 – 7). Why do those who are thus perfect attend assemblies to listen

to Music and Singing? In order to give an example and encouragement to others (pp. 7–8). (4) Not to rise and weep if restraint is possible. Yet if that will increase the emotion it is allowable: traditions in example (pp. 8–9). Garment-tearing only allowable when self-restraint is lost (p. 9). The tearing of new garments after ecstasy and distribution of the pieces only allowable when the pieces may be useful (p. 10). (5) If one rises or throws off his garment or his turban, the others should aid him in a spirit of comradeship and courtesy. Yet that, like all social usages, depends on the usage of the country (pp. 10–11). No one should dance whose dancing is sluggish and inert (p. 11). The test of the genuineness of ecstasy is its acceptance by the hearts of the onlookers (p. 12). The suitableness of dancing generally depends on circumstances and the dancer. An allowable thing to one man may not be allowable to another. Legally, dancing is not forbidden (pp. 12–13).

Recapitulation: Listening to Music and Singing is sometimes forbidden, sometimes disliked, sometimes loved. All depends on him who listens (p. 13).